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KINSHIP ORGANISATION AND BEHAVIOUR IN A CONTEMPORARY TONGAN VILLAGE

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Preface

This is a descriptive study on the kinship organisation and behaviour of Tongan commoners in a contemporary Tongan village. It will discuss the following questions. 1. Within what kind of kinship network do people live in a rural area of Tonga today? 2. How do they behave in such a network?

Kinship in Tonga has been variously described in the literature. According to G. P. Murdock[1] the Tongans are classified as an extended family type with polygamous household; patrilocal residence, but matrilocal residence as a patterned alternative; limited polygymy; absence of any unilinear kin groups; bilateral kindred; cross cousin marriage is disapproved symmetrically but not specifically forbidden. In these characteristics we do not find any particular kin group except kindred. But, on the other hand, R. Firth,[2] and others,[3] discuss the *ha'a* which is called an optataive descent group or sept or ramage.[4] According to their definition the *ha'a* is not of a kindred type but resembles a lineage in several ways. Are there, then, two types of kin group in Tonga? If there are two, how do they work together? Through the intensive study of a small village, I will try to clarify the above point.

I stayed in the Kingdom of Tonga from July 1962 to February 1963, and the field work for this paper was done in Nukuleka village from November 1962 to January 1963. Nukuleka is located in the eastern part

1. Murdock 1957: 681.
2. Firth 1957: 6.
3. Davenport 1959: 562.
4. Sahlins 1958: 130-150.

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591 166 Regarding 24 instances of virilocal marriage the following table shows the place from where the wife came.

TABLE 5 — WIFE'S NATIVE PLACE

Tongatapu	—	—	18	Fua'amotu	—	—	2
Talafo'ou	—	—	4	Ha'apai	—	—	2
Mu'a	—	—	4	Nakolo	—	—	1
Vava'u	—	—	4	Tofoa	—	—	1
Nuku'alofa	—	—	2	Ha'alalo	—	—	1
Folaha	—	—	2	Houma	—	—	1

581 Eight wives came from very near villages, Talafo'ou and Mu'a. For the villagers love seems to be a natural and strong motivation for marriage. As if to testify this, many wives are chosen from neighbouring areas. There are chances for young men to fall in love with girls from other islands who come to visit their relations in this village or vice versa. 591 166 Generaly speaking, the wives have come from near villages in the marriage of virilocal residence, while in uxorilocal residence, the husbands are from far isolated islands.

III KINSHIP ORGANISATION

Famili and Kainga

613 565 E. W. Gifford reported in his Tongan Society that "there exist today in Tonga a number of named lineages called *ha'a*."[11] but, *ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I made enquiries. An old man told me that *ha'a* may be organised in the *eiki*, chief class, but not among the commoners.

192 612 Instead of *ha'a*, the term for kin group, *famili* is most commonly and *kainga* is much less commonly used.[12] The word *fa'ahinga* for kin group is seldom used. An informant explained that the original meaning of *fa'ahinga* is 'kind'. Some villagers think that *famili* and *kainga* indicate just the same social kin group, while other do not. The extension of 612 [58] *famili* and *kainga* is variously told as follows.

Man A: *Famili* includes grandparents, parents(including father's brother, mother's sister), father's sister, mother's brother, ego's brothers with their wives and children, sisters with their husbands and children, ego's children and grandchildren. *Famili* means one's near relations and *kainga* one's remote relations. Wife's parents and her siblings are not included even in *kainga*.

Man B: *Famili* members are paternal grandparents, parents (including father's brother in the village), siblings (including father's brother's children), children, grandchildren, and one's own wife. The spouses of siblings and their children are the members of *kainga*. Maternal grandparents who live in another village may be included in *kainga*. This would not change even if they happened to live in ego's village, though he does not know for certain. The parents and siblings of one's wife are also in the *kainga*.

11. Gifford 1929: 29 33.
12. For example, *kou'eiki mo kainga* (often equivalent to ladies and gentlemen or you in public speaking) is still used in daily life.

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Man C: According to this informant, there is no difference between *famili* and *kainga*. He traced as those two group's members every person who is consanguineally related to him through father and mother including far relations such as his mother's sister's daughter's son and his brother's daughter's son. He clearly distinguishes consanguineal relatives from affinal relatives who are defined by him as *mali pe*, married only. The only exception is his own wife who is included in his *famili* upon her marriage.

If we ask particularly about the difference between *famili* and *kainga*, most of the informants explain that *famili* includes close relations and *kainga* remote relations. But the distinction of the two terms is not always clear, for there are not a few cases where one may be called *famili* of so and so on some occasions, *kainga* on other occasions by the same informant. The truth is that, both *famili* and *kainga* seem to be used in the same way which traces bilaterally all the consanguineal kinsmen. I will use the word here in this report as mentioned by Man C. It may be defined altogether as personal kindred.

Ulu i Famili

The head of *famili* is called *ulu i famili*. Gifford mentions the word *ulu motua* as the head of the family. The functional role of *ulu i famili* is observed only on ceremonial occasions of weddings and funerals. At a wedding, what the *ulu i famili* is mainly concerned with is how to divide food among the people invited to a wedding. However, he does not demur at the fitness of the partner or the date of wedding. At a funeral, the *ulu i famili* gives his instruction about the allotment of the work, the feast and so on.

As *famili* is personal kindred, it is 'ego-oriented' and differs for each person except full siblings. If *ulu i famili* were the head of a *famili* of this type, that is personal kindred, he would not function effectively at all as the *famili* concerned would depend on the position of ego. An *ulu i famili* can only be appointed for each individual at the centre.

When we ask "Who is your *ulu i famili?*" villagers name an old man on the paternal side of the *famili*. When a son or a daughter marries, his or her father will consult with his *ulu i famili*. Children are included in a *famili* of their mother, but they are not subject to the *ulu i famili* to whom their mother belongs. They belong to their father's *ulu i famili*. So the *famili* itself is 'ego-oriented' but, one may say, those who belong to a certain *ulu i famili* can be determined only by considering the particular nuclear family concerned. As a matter of convenience in distinguishing these two forms of kin groups, the family group which belong to one *ulu i famili* will be called the *famili* organisation in this paper.

Famili organisation in Nukuleka

In Nukuleka, 5, named Pualiki, has the largest number of *famili* and is somehow related to the families of 24 households out of 33. According to 5, he is the *ulu i famili* of nuclear families of 15 households. The following list shows his *famili* organisation and the relationship with them. (see Fig. 2).

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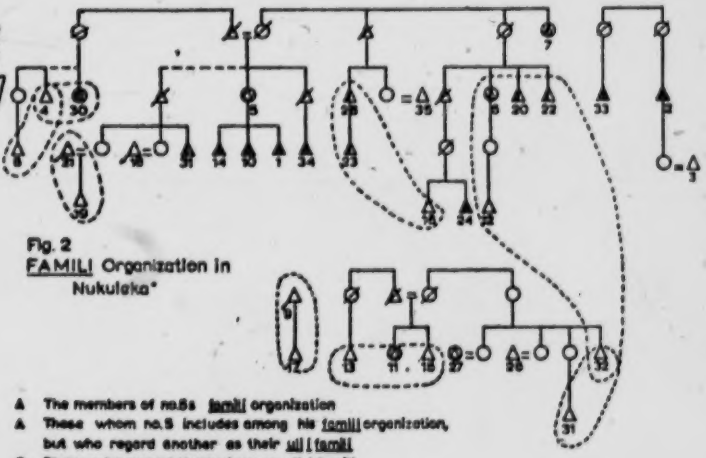

Fig. 2
FAMILI Organization in Nukuleka*

△ The members of no.5's famili organization
▲ Those whom no.5 includes among his famili organization, but who regard another as their uli i famili
● Those who regard themselves as uli i famili
▲ Those whose uli i famili live outside of the village.
✗ Deceased
○ Persons whose uli i famili is the same
Children of the same father but a different mother
Children of the same mother but a different father

*The figure is simplified by showing only the heads of the nuclear families and the persons who are necessary for tracing the relationship.

14 is 5's first son; 10 is 5's third son; 1 is 5's fourth son; 34 is 5's full brother's son; 31 is 5's half brother's son; 30 is 5's father's sister's son; 6 is 5's mother's sister's son; 20 is 5's mother's sister's son; 22 is 5's mother's sister's son; 24 is 5's mother's sister's son's daughter's son; 28 is 5's brother's son; 23 is 28's son; 7 is 5's mother's brother; in the case of 2 and 33 the relationship cannot be traced from the figure. Although they themselves do not know it exactly, they think they are *famili* of 5.

As shown in fig. 2, Pualiki's *famili* organisation extends both to his father's and his mother's side, excluding 18, 21 and 35 whose wives are related to him. 30 and 6, each related to him through a female member, are considered to be members of his *famili* organisation. Although Pualiki says that he is the *ulu i famili* of all these fifteen families, only seven regard him as their *ulu i famili;* the other eight regard another person or themselves as *ulu i famili.*

The *famili* organisation of this village is shown in the following table. As in Pualiki's case those whom one *ulu i famili* regards as his *famili* members, are not the same as those who think him their *ulu i famili.* So, the families listed below are not from the viewpoint of *ulu i famili,* but from the viewpoint of individual families.

Even though 7 and 27 declare that they were *ulu i famili* of so and so families, none of them think they belong to either. The persons who regard themselves as *ulu i famili* are always over fifty years old. Generally speaking, an *ulu i famili* is an old man of the father's side of one's *famili.*

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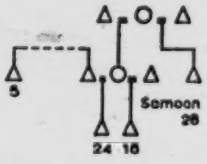
TABLE 6 — *Famili* ORGANISATION

Ulu i famili	Age	Families which belong to him
5 (Pualiki)	58	14, 10, 1, 29, 24, 33, 2
6 (Leke)	65	20, 22, 12, 32 (31 regards 32 as his *ulu i famili*)
28	52	33, 16
30	58	4 (8 regards 4 as his *ulu i famili*)
11	68	15, 13
7	60	
27	67	
outside of the village		3, 9 (17), 18, 21 (19), 26
unknown		35

But the rule is not strictly observed. If someone cannot trace his father's relations for some reason or other, he may belong to his mother's *ulu i famili*. For example, 22, whose parents live separately, stays here with his mother and belongs to 6, Leka who is his mother's father. Also, 24 and 16 are half- brothers having the same mother, but 16 regards 28 and 24 regards 5 as his *ulu i famili* respectively. Shown in fig. 3, 16's father is a man from Nukuleka whose relation with 5 is unknown, but 24 presumes 5 to be his father's brother. So, 24 considers his paternal relative 5 as his *ulu i famili*. On the other hand, 16 can not trace his *ulu i famili* through his father and belongs to 28 who is his mother's half- brother. In another case, 31 does not think of 5, who is his father's elder brother, as *ulu i famili*, but 32 who is his mother's brother. There remains the fact to be taken into consideration for explaining the above case that 32 who resides next door gives advice to 31 in daily life. Five families have their *ulu i famili* outside the village. But they may seek advice from someone among their affinal relatives in the village, if they wish. For instance, 3 regards 2 as an adviser and 18 also regards 32 in the same way. It depends solely on the husband's will who his family's adviser shall be.

FIG 3 Relationship between no. 24 and no. 16



The Looseness of Famili Organisation

When asked, a man will often pause for a little tiime to think over who his *ulu i famili* is. 11 mentioned his mother's sister as his *ulu i famili*, when 13 sitting in company with him said that a woman can not be a *ulu i famili*. Then 11 corrected his previous words by saying that he himself was *ulu i famili*. And as already noted, those who regard someone as

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612 their *ulu i famili* do not coincide with those whom he considers to be his *famili* members. Judging from these two facts, the *famili* organisation seems to be not solid and not well structured.

Generally, there is a more or less close consanguineal relationship between an *ulu i famili* and the members of his *famili* organisation which includes the people of three or four generations whether lineally or collaterally related. When the organisation becomes larger, it breaks up easily, as if unconsciously. That there is nothing to bind its members to the *famili* organisation, such as the land property or group name, may make the organisation loose and easy to break up. Added to his, the functional role of *ulu i famili* is limited to the ceremonial occasions that occur vary rarely in one's life, and people may not be conscious of *ulu i famili* until they need him. The man who belongs to Pualiki could not answer the question who would be the next *ulu i famili* after Pualiki's death.

612 592 The looseness of *famili* organisation might be related to the family structure itself. If the patrilocal extended family were a basic form, the family would continue over generations and people would easily identify the descent of *ulu i famili*. But most of the households consist of a nuclear [594] family which does not last over generations and this makes the descent of *ulu i famili* obscure. A man of an historic family like Leka is supposed to be an *ulu i famili* of a large *famili* organisation. Unexpectedly, in fact, only four families of his brothers, grandson, and 32, whose relation to him is unknown, belong to him.

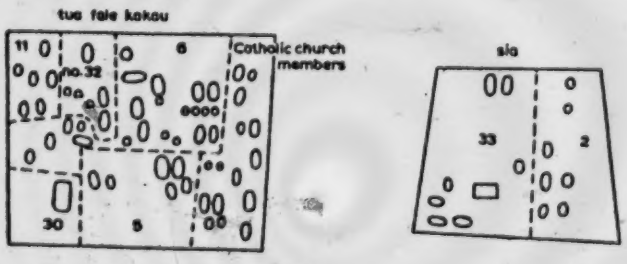
IV The Functions of *Famili* and *Famili* Organisation

612 Then what functions have the *famili* and *famili* organisation, if any, and on what occasions, and to what degree, do they work?

Malae

764 There are two cemeteries; one is called *tua fale kakau* and the other *sia* which is much smaller than the former. In fig. 4, the *tua fale kakau* [765] is shown. On its northern side there is a section for Catholics who are a minority group in the village. In the central area, the graves of Leka's ancestors occupy a large space, upon which 11 and 32's graves encroach. A small section on the southern side is reserved for 30. *Sia* is located in the *api tukuhau* of 33 which is occupied only by 2 and 33.

FIG. 4 Cemetery



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Malae is thus divided by the several kin groups but without an actual fence of demarcation. The people buried in a section of *malae* roughly coincide with those who belong to the same *famili* organisation, but not always. There are mainly three reasons for this discordance. Firstly, it is not allowed to dig a grave in the same spot for about five years after the last burial, which means that one who dies within the five years may be buried with members of another family. Secondly, belonging to a section in the *malae* seems, in the main, to be patrilineally decided; a wife may belong to her husband's place, children except married daughters to their parents' place. But the dead may, under some circumstances, be buried in a section on the basis of their relationship with mother or wife. In the section of 30 at *tua fale kakau* 30's father as well as his unmarried daughter and 4's son were buried in these years. 30's father was born in Mu'a and came to this village to marry. When he died, he was buried at the corner of the Pualiki's section, probably because Pualiki's sister was his wife. Since then, the section of 30 seems to have acquired its position separately from the main section. Thirdly, a local bond is also recognised in deciding the section in which one shall be buried. For if a person from another village happens to die while staying here with some family, he will be buried in the section to which the family with whom he was staying belonged. A woman married out of the village died while she was back at her native home. She was buried beside her parents' grave.

Church Affiliation

All Tongans are Christian. We can not understand fully the village life without Christianity. There are a number of religious observances, for example, attendance at church service several times a week, strict keeping of the Sabbath, prayers before each meal and before going to bed, which are integral parts of daily life for the villagers .

The Free Wesleyan Church, the largest in the Kingdom, holds a large majority of the village members. After this sect come the Free Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church and a few Mormons in this order. There are three churches in this village. The Free Wesleyan Church and the Free Church of Tonga have professional stewards who stay here during the term of their service. The steward of the Catholic Church is a villager. The Mormons go to church in the next village. The following table shows the church affiliation of the *famili* organisation.

The basic principle in church affiliation is that a wife should follow her husband, and the children should follow their father, which indicates a patrilineal principle at work. But this is not always the case, as is shown in the table. In one case the elder brother (11) is Catholic while the younger brother (15) is Mormon. They may change their affiliation, for example in accord with the school-religion in which they were educated, or sometimes of their own free will.[18] 32 gives an example. He was a member of the Free Church of Tonga until 1956, but some unpleasant matter in the church made him and all the members of his nuclear family change their membership to the Free Wesleyan Church to

18. Beaglehole 1941: 128-188.

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which his father had formerly belonged. He was appointed as *malanga* in 1960 and given the honour to have *fakaafe* (mentioned below).

TABLE 7 — CHURCH AFFILIATION AND *Famili* ORGANISATION

Household No.	Families which belong to him	Church	Honourable position
5	14	F.W.C.	*malanga*
	10	F.W.C.	
	1	F.W.C.	
	34	F.W.C.	
	24	F.W.C.	
	33	F.W.C. (His half-brother belongs to F.C.T.)	
	2	R.C.	
6		(Husband and his first daughter. But his wife to F.W.C., the third daughter to Mormon.)	
	20		
	22	R.C.	
	12	F.C.T.	*faifekau*
	32	F.W.C.	*malanga*
	31	F.W.C.	*lotu fefui*
28		F.W.C. (his wife's mother to F.C.T.)	
	23		*malanga*
	16	F.W.C. (F.C.T. until 1956)	*malanga*
30		F.W.C.	
	4	F.W.C.	*malanga*
	8	F.W.C.	
11		F.W.C.	
	15	F.W.C.	*malanga*
	13	F.W.C.	*lotu fefui*
7		F.W.C.	
27		R.C.	*tiwata*
	3	Mo.	
	9	F.W.C.	*malanga*
	17		(*formerly*)
	18	F.C.T.	*faifekau*
	21	F.C.T.	
	19	F.C.T.	
	26	R.C.	
	35	R.C.	
		F.C.T.	*malanga*
		Mo.	
		Mo.	
		F.C.T.	
		C.T.	

It is now clear that the members of a *famili* organisation are not necessarily members of the same church. On the other hand, members of a nuclear family are loyal to the same church; a bride, even if she has a different affiliation, on her wedding, is ready to conform to her husband in religious affiliation, which may add strength to family unity.

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If a man attends church service regularly and keeps on doing good, he will be allowed to be called *lotu fefui* (catechumen), and if he can keep on having a good record a few years more, he will be elevated to the status of *malanga*. A few excellent men among the *malanga* may be promoted to *faifekau* by the church president.[14] It is a great honour and much respected to become *malanga* or *faifekau*.

Fakaafe for the New Year

The last day of the year, it is said, is the most important day for the Tongan. On this day, the members of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have *fakaafe*, a feast, thanking God for the peace of the past year and praying for the happiness of the coming year. Each *malanga* is invited to one *fakaafe* to say a grace. After the feast, a *malanga* is presented with a bark cloth and a *sisi* (ornamented girdle or waist band or festoon made of flowers and leaves) by the host. It is a great honour for anyone to give *fakaafe* on this occasion. This privilege is conferred upon him by the steward of the church. In this village, eight men, (4, 6, 14, 16, 29 - steward, 30, 32, 34) in the Free Wesleyan Church and four men (2, 18, 26, 27) in the Free Church of Tonga have been privileged to give *fakaafe* for many years. Some of their kinsmen who help to make *umu* (food cooked in an earth oven) are then invited to share the joy of the feast. This occasion offers us a good opportunity to observe kinship functioning. The details of the feast are as follows:

TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe*

Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
4	the members of his household only	32 (*malanga*), 8 and his wife, The household members.	4 pieces of yam, 3 of *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 2 chickens, etc.
6	his son and 12	30 (*malanga*), 5. The household members.	10 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 1 basket of sweet potato, some fish, 1 pig, 4 pounds of canned beef, 4 pounds of canned mutton etc.
14	two of his friends, the members of his household	28 (*malanga*), 20, a woman from another village.	6 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 3 chickens, 12 pounds of canned beef.

14. Rank differentiation in the different churches varies a little.

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TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe* (continued)

Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
16	24, 28, 23, 15, 22, 21's daughter's husband	22 (*malanga*), 4, 28, 23, 28's children, *24* & his wife, *15*, 5's brother, *21's daughter's husband*, husband's sisters, wife's sisters.	16 pieces of yam, 6 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, more than 20 fish, 4 pigs, 6 pounds of canned beef, etc.
29 steward	23's wife, his friends	5 (*malanga*), 8, 23's wife, wife's brother's son.	4 pieces of yam, a lot of sweet potato, 4 fish, 2 pigs, etc.
30	the members of his household, 31's wife.		
32	the members of his household only	The household members 29 (*malanga*), 34, 30's son, one friend.	6 pieces of yam, 1 of *kape*, 30 of sweet potato, 10 fish, 1 pig, etc.
34	1, 16, 5's son	6 (*malanga*), a couple of his friends. The household members.	5 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 40 of sweet potato, 20 fish, 1 pig, etc.
2	the members of his household only	7 (*malanga*), *33's wife 33's brother and his wife, 8 and his wife* (2's daughter), *9's daughter.*	4 pieces of yam, 4 of *kape*, 2 baskets of sweet potato, 1 fish, 1 pig, 1 chicken, 1 duck.
18	the members of his household only	*malanga* (next villager), 2, 27 and his wife, 25 (steward) and his wife, *19's wife.*	8 pieces of yam, 1 of *kape*, 6 big fish, 4 small fish, 2 pigs, etc.
26	31	18, 25, 27, 31.	8 pieces of yam, 8 fish, 1 pig, etc.

Note to Table:
Those italicised belong to different religious sects from the host.

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Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother (22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic, and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church. Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uike lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this feast, and over twenty men helped the famil yin preparation. Pualiki was helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34, 18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6. 20, 23 (the households of his mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations helped him more.

Land Use

According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of 8½ acres as *api tukuhau* and 1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or, even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining 11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households. The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of *api tukuhau* for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother; wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic Church.

It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their *famili* or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They

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are not reluctant to ask for help from their *famili;* one may *kole* (ask) foods, money, land use for cultivating or housing, and so forth. And one who is asked for something by one's *famili* would not refuse it. In case they borrow a portion of *api tukuhau* of their *famili,* they can usually plant and harvest any crop they like. The only exception is that the borrower has no right to get the coconuts from trees already planted. The coconuts are the chief source of the cash income for the villagers. When I asked them "What do you pay for the use of the land?" a common answer to this question is that he (she) is my *famili,* which suggests their idea that they do not have to pay to their *famili.*

Prohibition of Marriage

Marriage prohibition extends bilaterally towards the farthest relationship. If two persons recognise themselves as belonging to the same *famili,* even if their actual relationship may not be traceable, they must not marry. A man and woman in the same generation in the same *famili* stand as brother and sister; the former should respect and protect the latter. But in a different village, I know of a couple consisting of a man and his father's (classificatory?) sister's son's daughter. The story about their marriage is as follows. They had lived in the same village and the boy fell in love with her. Every time he came to see the girl, her parents suspecting their immoral love, sent him away. But one day they ran away to Nuku'alofa to get married. After they came back, the bridegroom and his father visited his wife's parents, taking with them food which had been cooked in an *umu.* Then on the evening of the same day, her mother brought bark cloth and mats to their house for the bridal bed. Now, they are apparently not blamed either by their parents or by the villagers because of the run-away marriage, and her mother was not ashamed to tell me the story. Anyway this remains an exceptional case.

Famili functions in a field of co-operation and marriage and prohibition. On the other hand a *famili* organisation does not necessarily operate at all since the group for co-operation need not extend beyond the household. A person needing another's help, may ask the members of his *famili* individually. In short, in the Tongan way, more emphasis is put on the interpersonal, individual relationship than on the group relationship. The next chapters will report the kinship behaviour centring upon the relationship between individuals.

V The Interpersonal Relationship

Kinship Terminology

The terminology of Tongan kinship system has already been precisely described by Gifford, I will touch on some variations from his statement. He wrote about *tamai* that all male and female relatives of the father and in his generation are said to be called fathers.[15] But so far as I could know, this usage of *tamai* is not so extensive today. It includes the father and the father's brothers in classificatory sense, but not female relations of the father. In the same way, I am not certain if *fa'e* includes

15. Gifford 1929: 28.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

MACHIKO AOYAGI

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in birth significanc to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal relative's desire to name a child.

VII — Weddings and Funerals

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial occasions such as weddings[21] and funerals. I will describe these ceremonial procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour.

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* (big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili* will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink. The first cup of kava is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later after *faitohi* the wedding takes plaec.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihu*, *kei* (both, a kind of mat) and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,[22] then by the groom. If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork, and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kie*. The bride and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

21. Collocott 1928: 221-6., Beaglehole 1941: 91-98., Koch 1965: 75-81.
22. Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live."[26] When he was told by another informant that the term would apply to the family of a chief, but not to that of a *matapule* or commoner, he interpreted this as meaning that today only chiefs are heads of *ha'a*. But the Beagleholes, who made a research at Pangai in Vava'u about ten years later, made a brief note that none of the Pangai commoners: "know their lineage, none of who would dare to claim relationship to the lineage of the royal family."[27] This is the case not only in Nukuleka, but also in Longoteme, *tofia* (noble estate) held by Noble Vekune.

Kinship organisations observed in Nukuleka are *famili* and groups of nuclear families centring on the *ulu i famili* which I have named *famili organisation* for the convenience of description. *Famili* can be best described as personal kindred because it includes all the persons both maternally and paternally with ego's wife. *Famili* members should cooperate with each other, and should not marry no matter how distant their relationship is, but in actuality union may be permitted if the relationship between them is very distant.

On the other hand, several features of *famili* organisation may be summarised as follows: One belongs to the *ulu i famili* through the father, but matrilineal belonging is also permissible in special circumstances. The *famili* is not localised. It is very flexible, being easy to split. So, the members of *famili* organisation are confined generally to a few generations. It has neither group name nor group consciousness and does not function as a corporate group. Its organisational bonds exist between one *ulu i famili* and the individual nuclear families that belong to him, but the recognition of who is one's *ulu i famili* is ambiguous. The process of *famili* fission is not one of ramification which may accompany the internal stratification.

Judging from these features, a *famili* organisation may be called a very fragile, minimal patri-lineage of smaller size. Comparing with *ha'a*, is seems that *ha'a* is of more stable character than *famili* organisation, although the group consciousness and actual functions of *ha'a* is not clear from the description by Gifford that "they claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live." But the important difference between them is that *ha'a* has a ramified system in the process of segmentation. He wrote that "the whole system of lineages may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs,"[28] which is not the case of *famili* organisation at all. And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage type according to M. Sahlins[29] can not be possibly found in this village. Supposing the ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by Leka. Actually Leka is in the highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people are internally stratified. The principle that every one is ranked by seniority, that means every brother (as well as every sister) is

26. Gifford 1929: 80.
27. Beaglehole 1941: 71.
28. Gifford 1929: 80.
29. Sahlins 1958: 139-80.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

In the Tongan village today, the basic kinship organisation is *famili* that is personal kindred, and along with it, there are also particular bonds between nuclear families and an old man, *ulu i famili*, who is usually chosen on the paternal side of the personal kindred. Personal kindred functions in daily life, but one's belongingness to *ulu i famili* is shown in ceremonial occasions of life crises such as weddings and funerals.

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592 referred to in the definition who remain after family
659 groups have been separated out). There are some
114
596 difficulties with the census definition, however. First, the term 'family unit' has no Tongan equivalent and is not a culturally meaningful category. On the other hand, 'family group' is a category in everyday use in Tonga; the term in Tongan is 'fāmili'. But the word "fāmili" has a number of meanings besides the census report's sense of [612] an elementary or nuclear-family grouping. Another meaning of "fāmili" is the localized kin group consisting of a number of households linked by consanguineal ties, which is discussed in the next chapter. A third meaning is the co-residential kin group on which the household is based, irrespective of the number of family groups that it comprises. Not all members of a household are necessarily members of this third kind of fāmili; some family groups or attached individuals living in the household might be spoken of as "living in/on our 'api but not a member of our fāmili".

Another objection to the definition of 'family unit' given in the national census is that its use of the term 'family group' is not consistent. According to the census definition, a family group is a two-generation elementary or nuclear family (whether or not both parents are present), or one generation if the couple has no children.

602 in tracing kin ties is concerned with establishing the
621 range of people with whom an individual is involved in co-operating and participating in local-level activities.[1] These are the kin ties that are manifested in resource groups in the domestic sphere and at the local level--ties to 'api (household), kainga (kindred), and fāmili (local descent group).

592 The household group or 'api, a unit of common residence and consumption in which members are usually (although not necessarily) close kin to one another, has
612 been considered in the preceeding chapter. A second kind of kin grouping is the kainga, an ego-based personal kindred that does not include affines. One speaks of affinally-related kin as "my spouse's kainga" or "my brother's wife's kainga", or whatever, but not as being one's own kainga. This distinction is apparent in the following case, involving the people whose relationships
612 are depicted in Figure 3. An incestuous affair between
835A and B was discovered. It was considered to bring shame on C but not to reflect on D in any way. The logic underlying this is that a person is considered to be married only to his/her spouse, not to the spouse's kin as well.

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1 See Decktor Korn (1974, 1976), Kaeppler (1971), and Marcus (1975a, 1975b, 1976) for accounts that focus on various aspects of the differential significance of kinship at the national level and the local level.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

FIGURE 3

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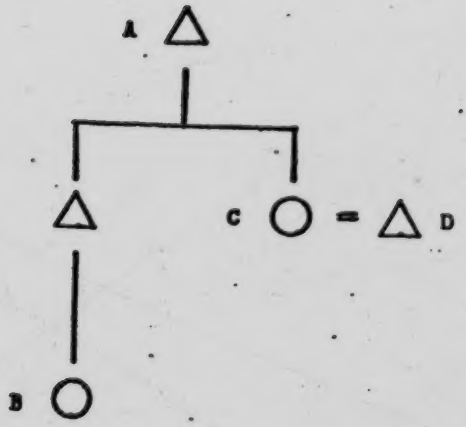
The Case of the Incestuous Relationship



612
764 From time to time, groupings based on kainga relationships come into being. The most typical of such occasions are funerals, when kainga members of persons who are closely related to the deceased come to the funeral. It should be noted that they come on account of their relationship to the bereaved, not the deceased. This was made clear to me in the following way. At one of the first funerals I attended, I noticed a group of people who were dressed in formal mourning (black clothes and large tattered mats) and carrying elaborate wreaths. I did not recognize them, and asked someone who they were. I was told that they had come "by way of (or through) hala". Since they were walking in single file along the side of the road and hala can be translated as 'path' or 'road', I was somewhat irritated by this reply. I asked again how they were related or connected to the deceased, and again I was told that they were not kin of the deceased but had come by means of hala. Eventually, it was made clear to me that the term 'hala' is used metaphorically to refer to the tracing of kinship relationships (the route or path along which the relationships are traced). All the mourners in question were close consanguineal kin of the person marked A in Figure 4. I was told that they had come to pay their respects at the funeral of B because of the half-sibling relationship between C and D. They

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 153]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

FIGURE 4

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The Case of the Mourners Who Came Hala

612 764 were kainga of C, and C in turn was kainga to D. Similarly, at a funeral held on the island of 'Eua in March 1970, two women (both from Motulahi) made a joint presentation of goods. The basis for their having made a joint funeral contribution can be explained by reference to Figure 5. They themselves (M and N) were not kainga of the deceased (P), nor were they kainga to one another, but each was kainga to her grandchildren (Q1 and Q2 respectively), and the grandchildren were kainga to one another and also closely related to the deceased. In short, it is not affinal ties that link people in kainga-based relationships, but ties that are reckoned to be traced through consanguineal connections. [602]

612 621 Finally, there is the fāmili, a kin-based group that cuts across kainga connections. Membership in the kainga --if it may be called 'membership'--is simply a matter of genealogical relationships; membership in the fāmili, although founded on kin ties, is defined by participation in the activities of the fāmili. While kainga is mainly a relationship category, fāmili is an action group which supplies members' households with goods, labor, and personnel when they are needed, as well as access to land for subsistence purposes. Thus, while kainga ties transcend local boundaries (for a person's kin may be anywhere in Tonga, or elsewhere for that matter), the fāmili is essen-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 155]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

FIGURE 5

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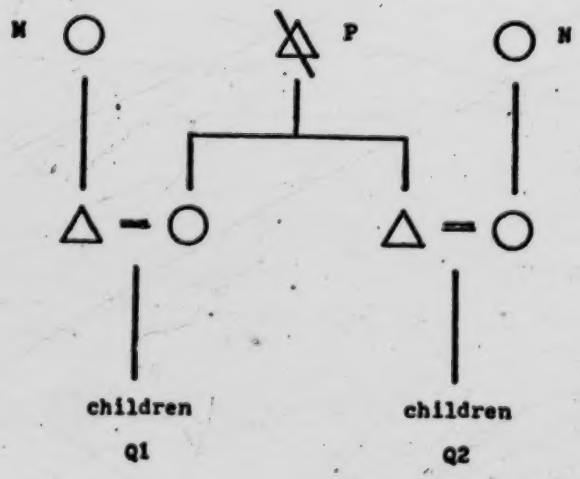
The Case of the Grandmothers' Joint Funeral Presentation



tially a localized group, most of whose members live in the same village. Like the household unit, the fāmili is a group that includes affines. And finally, in contrast to the ascriptive nature of the kainga relationship, fāmili membership is one of the most important areas of optation in Tongan society.

Fāmili Membership

The fāmili has some structural features that make it look like a non-unilinear descent group and others that make it look like what Davenport (1959) calls a 'stem kindred'. However, the fāmili could also be described simply as a loose association of households linked by consanguineal ties among some of its members. The core or 'stem' of the membership of any one fāmili consists of a number of adult individuals in the village, both male and female, who are related to one another as siblings or as the descendants of siblings. The total membership of a fāmili includes these individuals, their children and grandchildren, the spouses of these people, and any other persons who are more than just transient members of their households. But it must be understood that the criteria of membership in the fāmili are not at all rigid. A person could be affiliated with any fāmili to which he or she is able to claim a kin tie, even if the genealogical connection

612 is not very close, provided the claim is accepted by the
621 members of the fāmili.

It should be noted that fāmili are not thought of as descent groups, even though in some cases the first head of the fāmili--the founding ancestor, as it were--is spoken of as 'uluaki 'i he fāmili ('the first in the fāmili'). Instead, fāmili are thought of as informal, non-corporate associations of people linked by kin ties and based in a certain village. In some cases, the fāmili is known and referred to by the name of the person who is presently 'uli 'i fāmili ('head of the fāmili'), sometimes also called 'ulu-motu'a (literally, 'old head'). There is no
612 strict rule about who should be head of the fāmili. In
562 most cases, the person identified to/by outsiders is a male, since it is usually a man who is the representative of the group on formal occasions (such as in a kava circle during the observance of mourning). In internal affairs, however, the head could be a man or a woman, and is simply the senior member whose personal authority is such that he or she is able to issue instructions or assignments to members of the fāmili regarding such matters as the fāmili's participation in ceremonial events (e.g., at the funeral of someone who is kainga to a member of the fāmili). In one particular fāmili that I know, the old man is nominally the head but it is his wife, a capable and

612 energetic woman whose forebears were among the early
562 settlers in Motulahi after the civil war, who is the authority within the fāmili regarding the proper thing to do on each occasion and who mobilizes the other fāmili members. They have a son, also living in the village, a wealthy and respected man with an important position in government, whose advice is paramount in the fāmili and whose wealth helps to facilitate many of the fāmili's activities. This man, however, is not the eldest son, and he repeatedly told me that he is therefore not an authority within the fāmili and would not seek such a position but rather would always defer to his older brother (who also lives in the village). In contrast to this fāmili, in which the senior old man is at least nominally the head, there are two major fāmili in Motulahi in which it is well known and accepted throughout the village that the person in supreme authority is a woman.

612 None of the fāmili in Motulahi goes back more than six generations to a common ancestor of all the stem members, and this includes at least three living generations. Some of the fāmili consist only of the households of a group of brothers and sisters and their parents (if the old couple are alive and living in the village), a total of no more than four or five households. The fāmili of which old Pulotu is 'ulu-motu'a consists only of his

612 household and the households of each of his three sons who live in the village, four households in all. The largest fāmili in Motulahi goes back five generations to a common ancestor, and includes four living generations and more than twenty households (see Figure 6). This fāmili, however, appeared to me to be in process of fission during the period of my fieldwork--the line of fission is indicated in Figure 6. It had previously split off a generation ago from another fāmili in the village (see Figure 7). Each is now an entirely separate fāmili.

A fāmili will begin to fission when the group as a whole becomes too large, or if one section becomes markedly wealthier than another, or if for some other reason the burden of obligation among fāmili members becomes too cumbersome or unevenly distributed. Gradually, over a period of a few years, the fāmili will become segmented, through emphasis on ties within a section and relative neglect of ties to the rest of the fāmili. By the time the process is completed, there are separate fāmili for purposes of the obligations of fāmili membership, although members of the original fāmili will continue to be kainga to one another and will fulfill kainga obligations on occasions such as weddings and funerals. The fāmili depicted in Figure 6 is now in process of fission. Historical inspection reveals that

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 161]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

FIGURE 6

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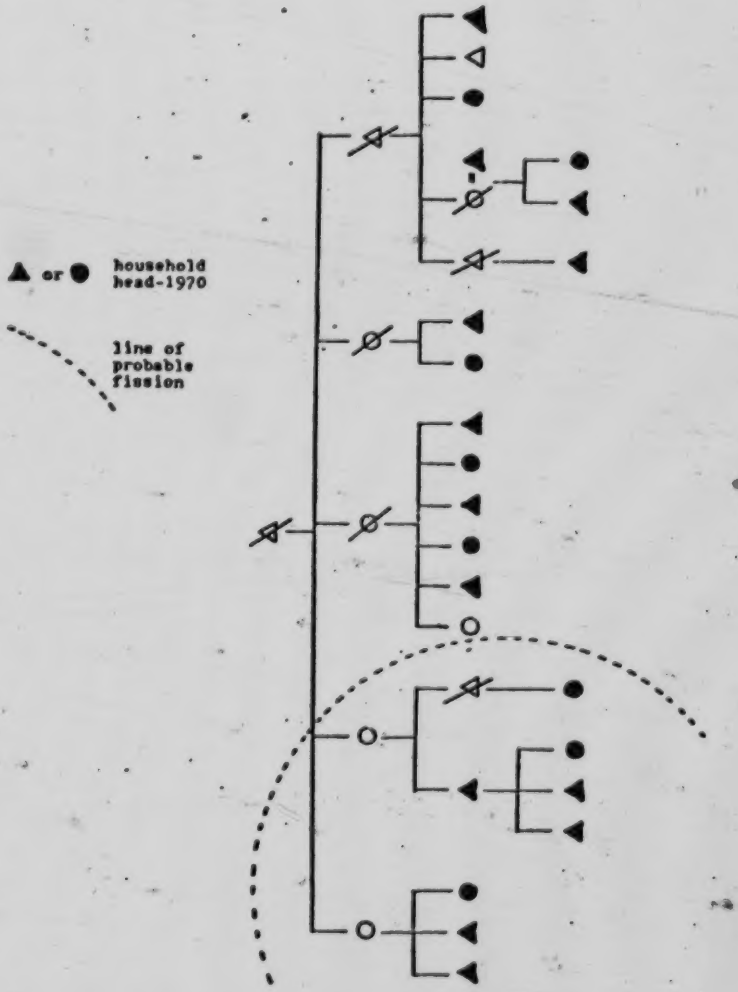
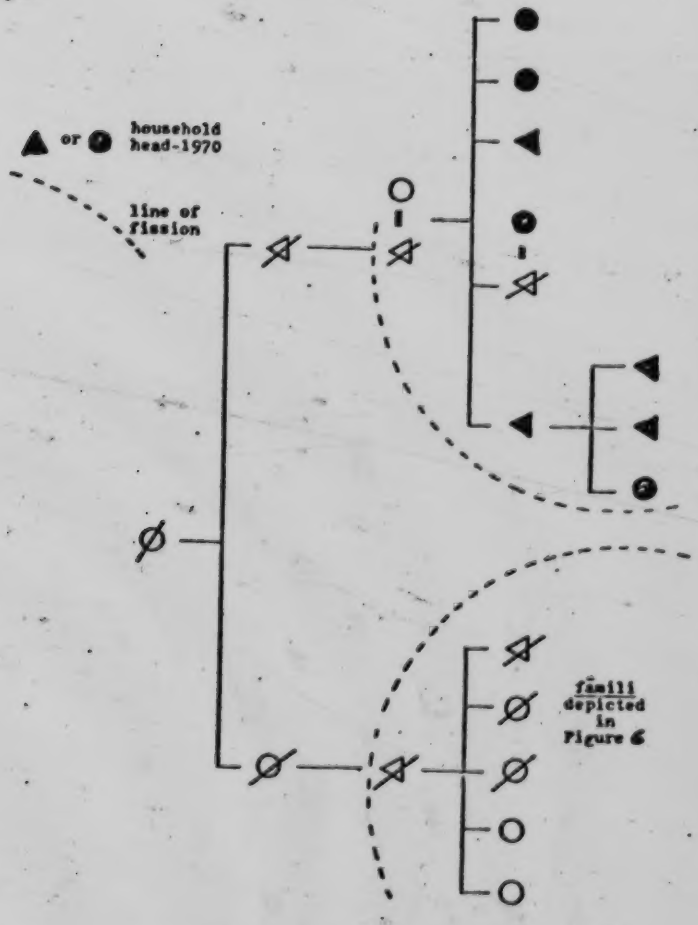
Core Members of the Largest Pāmili in Motulahi, 1970



46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

PIGURE 7

612
621 Common Ancestry of Two Pāmili in Motulahi



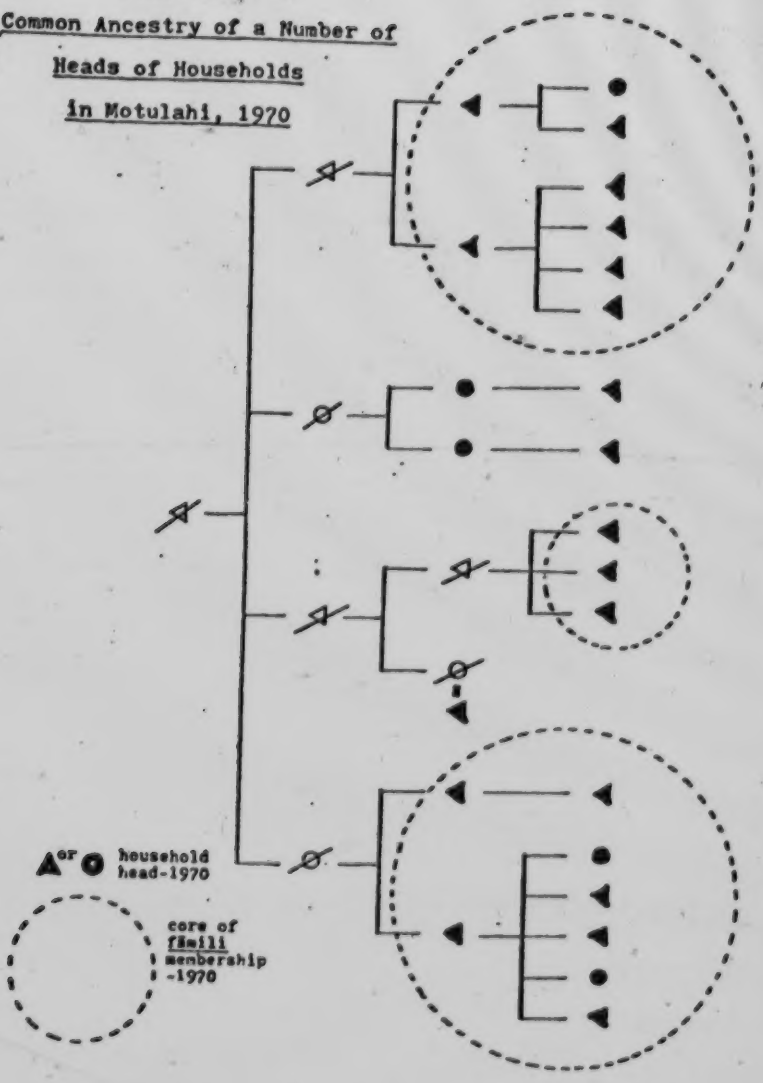
612 it had earlier split off from another fāmili (see Figure 7). And besides these cases, there are other fāmili in Motulahi that are connected to one another by sibling bonds between their originating ancestors. The most extensive such case is depicted in Figure 8.

As both Figure 8 and the two preceeding figures indicate, the process of fission may result in the emergence of new fāmili in each generation. Thus, in order to understand fāmili structure among the people living in any one area, there is little point in simply asking informants how many fāmili there are in the village or who belongs to which fāmili or even who is the head of each fāmili, as if there were unequivocal answers to these questions, for the fāmili is a dynamic and changeable entity and Tongans are aware of this. At most, one could ask the informant which fāmili he belongs to. However, even this might be undergoing change, as we shall see below.

612 It must be understood that membership in what anthropologists might speak of as a 'localized sibling descent group' and membership in a fāmili are not the same thing. Expressed in structural terms, there can be considerable overlap among persons affiliated with localized non-unilinear descent groups, whereas fāmili tend not to overlap in their active membership. Thus, an individual could be closely related consanguineally to more than one sibling

FIGURE 8

612 Common Ancestry of a Number of
621 Heads of Households
in Motulahi, 1970



46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

612 descent group in his village, or he could be related to one such group and his spouse to another; nevertheless, the members of any one household probably would not be members of more than one fāmili. The reason is that fāmili membership is dependent on frequent and consistent participation in fāmilī activites, and this is difficult to sustain with more than one fāmili at a time. This does not mean that a person will say that he is a member of one fāmili and not a member of another in which he might equally be a member, for there is no such thing as formal membership and therefore no need to make such a declaration. But he and his household will tend to participate in the activities of one fāmili rather than another and thereby put emphasis on their connection with that fāmili, leaving their connection with the other/s dormant.

612
476 Participation in fāmili activities includes the contribution of material goods and labor on ceremonial occasions. Members of the fāmili are expected to make contributions and to participate without being asked to do so. In return, they can expect the same kind of assistance when they require it. Indeed, the fact that one does not have to ask members of the fāmili for their contributions on ceremonial occasions is an important point of contrast between people who are fāmili members and those who are merely kainga to one another, for the

612 kainga is also a resource group. However, while it is
476 appropriate for kainga to provide assistance (especially
[554] assistance in the form of providing access to land and other capital goods), to ask kainga for any assistance if they are not also members of one's fāmili puts one in a subordinate supplicatory position, which is not true for provision of assistance within the fāmili. Nevertheless, one would go to non-fāmili members of one's kainga to ask for something if fāmili members are not able to provide it (e.g., short-term use of land to grow watermelon or some other cash crop). Thus, the kainga is a residual source of assistance, supplementing the fāmili.

612 Besides contributions on ceremonial occasions and such major assistance as providing access to land, participation in fāmili activities and the obligations of fāmili membership involve continual informal interaction with other member-households: visiting, gossiping, working together on the land and around the house (such as doing the laundry together), and sending small gifts of food back and forth. Thus, a kinship connection is no more than a necessary condition for establishing an acceptable claim to membership in the fāmili. Membership must continually be activated by participation in the activities of the fāmili. So long as a person continues to fulfill the obligations of fāmili membership, he or she remains a

612 member. From this description, it should be clear that
[692] it is extremely burdensome materially and might well be impossible socially, either to maintain these obligations with more than one fāmili at a time or to have members of the same household involved in membership of different
621 fāmili. Similarly, it is difficult to sustain the
612 obligations of fāmili membership when members of the fāmili reside in different villages (unless they are neighboring villages), since it would involve a lot of inconvenient journeying back and forth. Indeed, such cases occur only in those instances in which, for one reason or another, there is no suitable fāmili within the village with which the household might affiliate itself.

612 To appreciate what is involved in fāmili affiliation being a matter of choice, it must be understood that a person will be a member of the group within which and/or through which he can secure his best advantage and, if necessary, he will switch membership to do so. Switching fāmili affiliation occurs if a person or his household requires the long-term assistance of a different fāmili, such as provision of access to land for subsistence
612 purposes. Switching may occur, obviously enough, if there
621 is a shift of residence from one village to another. But a household might also gradually, over a period of many months, shift its affiliation within the same village.

612 (The extent of the old and new fāmili's involvement in
423 ceremonial activities might be a factor in deciding this, although access to land is probably the most common factor.)
612 Thus, the researcher is confronted with confusing data,
124 with nameless unbounded groups and floating memberships. To study fāmili structure, on the one hand, and the range and kinds of local obligations that any one person might involved in, on the other, the investigator must watch who vists whom, and go about at feasts counting pigs and yams, and ask who brought the pigs and who is helping to cook
612 the yams. The data are further complicated by the fact
476 that a person is not obliged to make contributions only to his own fāmili. The fact that a person is helping out or has made a contribution of food at the feast of someone who is not a member of his own fāmili does not necessarily signify that that person is in process of switching fāmili affiliation. He may be doing it because he is a friend of the feast-giver or a closely related kinsman or there may be some other reason relating to special circumstances of their relationship. Perhaps the helper wishes to put the feast-giver under obligation to himself, or owes him a
[124] favor. No single occasion, therefore, will tell the entire story; instead, the anthropologist (or the interested local observer) must keep track of such behavior over the course of a number of episodes and some period of time.

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602 From these materials it is clear that an individual has considerable flexibility, not simply in the choice of fāmili affiliation, but in how he aligns himself with other people as well. These alignments bring social and economic benefits that are sustained by reciprocity of obligations. Since an individual's needs and his uses for people change through time, however, he shifts his alignments to accord with his changed circumstances. These adaptations are facilitated by the optative nature of Tongan kin ties and the informal and non-prescriptive quality of the mechanisms of co-operation and assistance at the local level. As we shall see, similar mechanisms are at work with regard to denominational affiliation.

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114 Before proceeding, something should be said at this point about how other anthropologists have viewed the Tongan fāmili. It was first described by Aoyagi in 1966, and since then by me (in a paper presented in 1972, published 1974), by Morton, and by Marcus. Aoyagi (1966: 150-160) uses the terms 'famili' and 'famili organization' to refer to what I have identified as the kainga and fāmili, respectively, but her delineation of the nature of these groupings does not differ significantly from that given above. The emphasis in her account of 'famili organization' is on the occasions when the famili organization functions as a group. Aoyagi describes the looseness and variability

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612 in membership and in members' participation in the activities
114 of the famili organization, but she makes little attempt to account for these data. Morton, in his dissertation, gives a brief description of a group that he identifies as the 'matakali'(1972: 49-51), which I take to be the fāmili.[2] Almost no detailed description is given of the structure or organization of the matakali, but Morton does note that matakali "are defined by residence and consanguinity" and that "matakali in contrast to kainga is not conceived of as egocentric, has a membership based on residence, and is viable through more than one generation" (1972: 48, 50). Marcus (1974: 90-100, 1975a 45-52, 1975b: 12-15) gives an account of 'the famili' that differs in two critical features from these others, in that his focus is on the relations and transactions (a) within a corporate group of adult siblings (b) wherever they might be resident, rather than on a local group of kin. According to Marcus,

> The Tongan famili group in the village context alone is not a sufficient unit for analysis of modern Tongan social structure. Rather, in contemporary Tonga, the famili is more typically a network of ranked, adult sibling segments and their immediate households, situated in different locations both within Tonga and abroad, and engaging in a variety of occupations. I labelled this dispersed network of continually inter-

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2 According to Maude (1971: 127), matakali is a word of Fijian origin that is synonymous with famili in Tongan usage. Also see Gifford (1929: 38-39) and Sahlins (1962).

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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acting sibling segments, a family estate, based on both cooperation and competition over differentially shared resources (including parcels of land, government jobs, and overseas-earned income). There is a great deal of variation in the operation of these famili networks or family estates in their degree of success in accumulating resources, in the degree of corporateness in their organization, and in the degree of their internal stratification.

Both noble and commoner family estates, which have been most successful in achieving wealth and status resources in the past generation or two (and perhaps which are most corporate and most highly stratified in internal relations among siblings), are in the present context, patrons to numerous other famili networks, which, for whatever reasons, have not operated effectively as famili estates and have become their clients, dependent on the more successful family estates for material support and favors. . . . I suggest that under present conditions of land shortage and monopolization, at least a sector of Tongan society is organized through the informal patron-clientization of overlapping famili groups, while other famili groups are completely independent of this organization (1975b: 14-15).

The key to resolving the discrepancies between Marcus's account and my treatment of the famili is to be found earlier on in his paper:

> In the context of individual acievement and kin cooperation, a fundamental tension that arises in the internal relations of contemporary famili groups concerns the use and distribution of an individual's achieved status and wealth among his kinsmen: does he share his personal advantages in status and wealth as a group resource or does he use it as a personal resource to create ties of dependency and thus improve his position within highly stratified famili relations? (1975b: 13-14).

Marcus's emphasis is on the second alternative, while mine is on the first, and this difference in emphasis stems from our different research interests. His interest is in the elites at the national level, persons of high rank and/or

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612 wealth and status, while I am interested in ordinary
114 Tongans and in social organization at the local level. The elites are more likely to be involved in kin groups with a corporate character, and ties between them and with their less successful kinsmen are likely to be supra-local and not dependent on the quotidian interaction that is the sine qua non of the localized fāmili. The fact that Marcus's account of 'the famili' is different from mine reflects the difference in our spheres of investigation, since--as we have seen in relation to the household group--Tongans use the word 'fāmili' to refer to different kinds of groups in different contexts.

Denominational Diversity

602 Relationships of kinship are the primary source of
559 economic benefits and material assistance. For prestige
[621] in the community, however, one must look beyond kinship.
[602] At the national level, status is a function of rank by birth, wealth, occupation and education. These criteria are also significant in the village, but it is the rare villager who derives especially high status from one of
[794] these sources.[3] For most adults in the village, and

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3 There is no satisfactory account as yet of the system of status at the national level of contemporary Tongan society. Partial analyses are provided by Bott (1972), Kaeppler (1971), Marcus (1975a, 1975b, 1976), and Spillius (1959b), but it remains to be explained how the different elements make up the total system.

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794 in their congregation--not necessarily all of whom choose
574 to attend, however. Others, less interested in pursuing
554 status through feasting or less able to do so, provide a smaller feast. This, in turn, affects who invites them. Thus, congregational feasts provide occasions for on-going exchanges between feast-givers and their guests, on the one hand, and the hosts and those who have contributed to their feasts, on the other. People adjust their exchanges as their strategies for social recognition and their material needs and resources change, and every feast provides a new opportunity for re-defining relationships.

Changing Denominational Affiliation

794 The avoidance of inter-denominational confrontation
795 within the village, noted earlier, is possibly best under-
612 stood as a tension-reducing accomodation to the fact that
592 the various denominations not only separate the village into a number of different congregations, but quite often cut across fāmili affiliation and even household membership. (The phenomenon of denominational differences within the fāmili is illustrated in Figure 9, which depicts the denominational affiliation of the core members of two of the fāmili in Motulahi.) Where a household might be equally affiliated with more than one fāmili in the village, it will usually be affiliated with the fāmili whose members

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FIGURE 9

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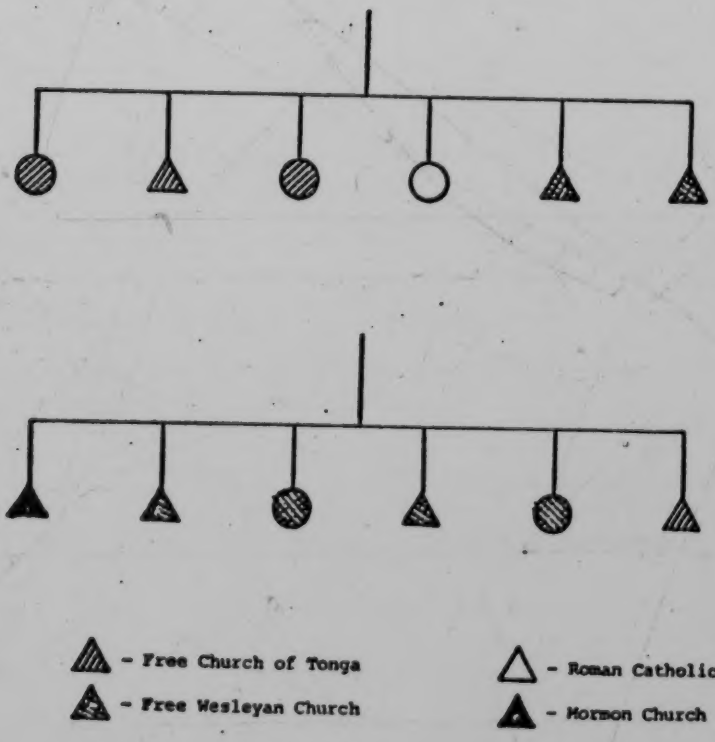
Denominational Differences among the Core Members of Two Pāmili in Motulahi



794 are predominantly of their own denomination. If there is
795 no such choice, however, and members of different denomi-
612 nations find themselves associated within the same famili,
592 then these people assist one another and make contributions
to one another's feasts, even if it is for a denomination
[574] other than their own. They may even be guests at such a
feast, and none of this is held to compromise their deno-
minational affiliation in any way. The same holds true
when members of a household belong to different denomin-
tions. Moreover, this is not a rare situation. There
were intra-household differences of denomination in
forty-three (30 percent) of the households in Motulahi in
1970, including differences in denominational affiliation
between parents and some of their married children in
fourteen out of fifty-one three-generational households.

794 Denominational diversity among kin arises in part
795 because switching to a different denomination is not
uncommon in Tonga. My data on this are incomplete, as I
[152] did not examine the phenomenon directly. What struck
[771] me was the seeming incongruity between the intensity
and apparent fervor of people's commitment to their own
denomination, on the one hand, and the equanimity with
which they appeared to view the fact of denominational
diversity in Tonga and their close kin being affiliated
with different denominations. That people switched deno-

582 formal requirement that both members of a couple belong
794 to the same denomination. Nevertheless, a person's status
795 as a worthy member of the congregation is based in part on his/her spouse's participation in congregational activities and the children's induction into the church through Sunday School, and in this sense it is necessary that both members of the couple belong to the same denomination. In almost all cases, it is the woman who switches
582 794 795 to her husband's denomination, rather than the other way around. This reflects the fact that it is more difficult
562 554 for a man to establish his status as a full member of a church than it is for a woman, and that church membership is a more important status-defining attribute for men
[612] than it is for women. Most men's foremost reference group, outside their own household, is the congregation of their church, whereas the comparable reference group for most
[591] women is the local kin group. Thus, we find eleven cases in Motulahi in which, it seems, each spouse has conceded that which is less important: the couple resides in the wife's village but are members of the husband's denomination. (In this regard it is interesting to note that formal status in the church, such as membership in the
582 794 795 kau malanga, is not affected by shifts of residence.) I know of only one case, not involving residents of Motulahi, where the couple did not get married because neither of

621 in Tonga, which is probably different from other territories, is that the villages are not self-contained governing 175 units, and never have been" (Spillius 1959b: 3). Before 361 the nineteenth century, people lived in isolated homesteads 621 622 under the immediate authority of the head of the local descent group (see Decktor Korn 1976). During the period of the civil war, they came to live together for protection in fortified villages under the leadership of warrior chiefs.[3] The historical evidence presented by Lātūkefu (1974) suggests that then, as now, the strongest single force binding the members of the village together was their allegiance to their chief, with only a few elements of concerted action under his leadership.

621 As we saw in the preceding chapters, local activities 612 are generally not organized on a village basis per se. For example, the localized kin group known as the fāmili is not essentially a village-based group. Admittedly, people of different villages seldom belong to the same fāmili, hence the fāmili appears to be village-based, but the reason why members of a fāmili tend to be people who live in the same village is because of the nature of the obligations of fāmili membership. These obligations tend to require interaction at a level that is difficult to sustain

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3 Walsh (1970) discusses the evolution of the Tongan settlement pattern.

621 unless one lives near enough to other members of the
612 fāmili to facilitate frequent visiting back and forth. Such visiting would certainly be possible if members of a fāmili lived in neighboring villages, but the fact is that it is not common for fāmili membership to straddle
612 village boundaries. In the first place, the means of
621 acquiring an allotment (or acquiring access to the use of
423 someone else's land) make it unlikely that male members of
425 a sibling descent group would live in neighboring villages rather than in the same village. If they were living in neighboring villages rather than the same village this suggests that there might be strongly divisive elements in their relationship, in which case they probably would not belong to the same fāmili even if they lived in the
[593] same village. It is also not common for brothers and
621 sisters to live in neighboring villages. Since the
584 intentions of unmarried men are generally regarded with
571 some suspicion, patterns of courtship do not favor marriage
[589] between men and women of neighboring villages; one either courts in one's home village, where people are known to one another and where there are sanctions for proper behavior, or one conducts one's courtship away from home, in which case a neighboring village is too close to be
621 attractive. The effect of these elements is that there are
612 relatively few cases in which the wife is a member of a
593 sibling descent group based in one village and the husband
592

621 is a member of a sibling descent group based in the village
593 next door. And even where this does happen, it is unlikely
612 that the household would participate as members of a fāmili
592 in a neighboring village if there were also a fāmili in the village of residence with which the household could be affiliated. It is only when for some reason there is no suitable fāmili in the village of residence that a household might participate regularly in a fāmili that is based
621 in another village. Similar factors operate against the
575 likelihood of a person's being a member of a kautaha based
621 away from that member's village of residence. People
571 prefer to be associated with others of their own village for reasons of convenience and prudence; so that they can interact freely with their associates and easily monitor
[612] their activities. In summary, the fāmili is a village-based group because it is basically a local action-group.

621 Like the kautaha and the fāmili, the congregation
794 is more correctly described as a local group rather than a village group. In most villages on Tongatapu, the Free Wesleyan Church is the only denomination whose congregation could be said to be village-based in the sense that all the members of the congregation are village residents, and this is also true in Motulahi. The reason is because the Free Wesleyan Church has a far greater number of adherents than other denominations. Owing to their numbers, members

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621 of the Free Wesleyan Church are usually able to support
794 their own village church and do not have to suffer the inconvenience of attending church in another village. Conversely, some of the people who belong to the Motulahi-based congregations of the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga live in the small village of Tatafa, about two miles away, for their denominations are not able to support a church in their own village. Similarly, the Roman Catholic families in Motulahi are members of a congregation that is based in the neighboring village of Nukutau, where there is a large Roman Catholic population, and the Mormons in Motulahi belong to a congregation whose membership is drawn from a number of nearby villages and whose church is located at the boundary between Nukutau and Motulahi. As for the few Seventh Day Adventists and even fewer Anglicans who lived in Motulahi in 1969-70, they had to go to Nuku'alofa to attend church. In short, the boundaries of a congregation are primarily dependent upon the density of adherents.

621 The preceding exposition of the nature of local-group boundaries is presented in support for the statement that the village as such has little significance as a unit of
[519 local organization in Tonga. Local activities beyond the
794 household take place within the framework of congregations,
612] kautaha, and fāmili, each of which cuts across village

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membership and may extend beyond the boundaries of the village. No local-level entity has the authority to co-ordinate the activities of these groups, to convene a village council of any sort, or to organize any other village-wide activity. In summary, the village neither functions as a political group nor is there any other group whose membership co-incides with all the inhabitants of the village. For these reasons, it is doubtful whether the Tongan village is to be regarded as a local group. Even for the isolated village-islands of Ha'apai, the only village-wide activity reported in response to my enquiries was that in some villages there is an occasional joint fish-catching expedition.[4]

In Motulahi, the closest approximation to village-wide action during the period of my fieldwork was the observance of a period of mourning when there was a death in the village.[5] For a few days after each death, no movies were shown and there was a stillness throughout the village. Usually, during the day, one hears the rhythmic note of wood striking wood as women pound bark into tapa-cloth, but this is put aside for the few days that the mourning is observed.

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4 The Beagleholes give a description of joint fishing operations (1941, 36-37).

5 There were five deaths in the village during the period of my fieldwork: an old man, a boy, and three infants.

621 elected at the sub-district and the village level, repec-
646 tively, and receive government stipends. Despite their
634 elective positions, they do not act as representatives of the people vis-a-vis higher levels of government. Instead, their main function is to serve as a conduit for communications from the top down. This is described by Spillius:

> The Town Officer is a paid government official . . . and his main function is to act as a communication channel between Government and villagers. He holds meetings in which he tells the people the laws and regulations passed by Government. Any Government official who comes to the village, including the medical and nursing staff, comes first to the Town Officer. . . . Town Officers are supposed to conduct agricultural and sanitary inspections and send reports to the Premier's Office, but they rarely do so, as these are unpopular in the village and are not insisted upon from above. Some Town Officers are keenly interested in health and support the programs of the Medical Department. Others are interested in public works and have mobilized the people to build roads and community houses. But this depends on their individual character and interests, it is not a formally defined part of their job (1960: 10).

621 As we have seen, the village as such is not a signi-
571 ficant unit of organization. However, the low level of authority of local leaders must not be taken to indicate that there is no significant decision-making at the local
612 level. On the contrary, the famili and kautaha regulate
575 their own affairs and are not answerable to any higher
794 bodies, and the data on congregations presented in Chapter V clearly indicate that they have considerable autonomy in regulating strictly local matters. What we find in analyzing the system of political authority in Tonga is that, in

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602 Similarly, Marcus--in his discussion of kin ties among the
571 Tongan elites (1974, 1975a, 1975b)--treats 'the famili' as a
612 dispersed kin set, transcending local boundaries. And even if kin are not of the same fāmili, as kainga they see one another on ceremonial occasions such as feasts and funerals, and a junior relative will readily call on a senior person when the latter should happen to be in the neighborhood.
602 Furthermore, it is not unusual for senior people in govern-
571 ment to have their home in a village on Tongatapu and commute to work in Nuku'alofa, or--if they are from one of the other islands--to maintain close ties with their "home"
569 village despite residence away from that village. Similarly, the nobles not only have local deputies but also maintain residences of their own on their estates throughout the islands and visit there from time to time.[9] All these key individuals are associated with different sets of people in their domestic and local activities from those with whom they are associated at the national level, and they act as 'brokers' of communication between the local level and the national level. Their role as brokers was touched on earlier in this chapter in connection with the system of personal representations and private petitioning by villagers in their dealings with the central authorities.

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9 See Marcus (1976) for a description of how different nobles arrange this.

571 The organization of communication in Tonga can be understood in the following way: viewed from the top, communication is usually formal, systemic, and impersonal; viewed from the bottom, it is informal, reticulated, and personal. Formal communications are vertical, except at the very top, while informal channels of communication are both horizontal and vertical (see Figure 12).

571 182 Consideration of the system of informal communication leads to the conclusion that it is an important means of national integration. Not only does it facilitate two-way communication and consultation between the national level and the local level, but it also provides the means of linking local units with one another. Villages and islands --considered as units in themselves--are not connected with one another except through their connection with the central authorities, but--as we have noted earlier in this chapter --the various local units (households, congregations, famili, and kautaha) are locally integrated through over-

571 182 612 lapping and cross-cutting memberships. These local groups, in turn, are connected by a finely-knit web of communication through kainga relationships, and these relationships transcend village and island boundaries. Thus, in this limited sense, the nation is the kinship system writ large.[10]

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602 [10] Note that it is only with regard to this limited aspect of the system of communication that it can be said

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

527 While ordinary Tongans are regularly involved on an individual and small-group basis with people from beyond their own village, there are few situations in which they have the opportunity to express their identity as Tongans in common with thousands of other Tongans. From time to time, however, the nation is activated by events known as kātoanga ('public celebration or festivity'). Thousands of people are involved in these events, both in preparations and in direct participation in gigantic feasts, traditional dancing and other public entertainments, and ceremonial and spectacular activities of other kinds.

527 648 One kātoanga took place during the period of my fieldwork, on the occasion of the visit of the Queen of England in March 1970. Although the Royal Visit lasted for only one day, in Motulahi it was preceded by about seven weeks of preparation and upheaval, and similar activities went on throughout Tongatapu. Furthermore, while the kātoanga took place only on Tongatapu, not only [484] [184] the people of that island were involved. Contributions were levied in all parts of Tonga, in the same way that the villagers of Motulahi had been informed what their contributions were to be, and thousands of people made the trip

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[671] [182] [612] [602] that the nation is the kinship system writ large. I would certainly not equate the political system of Tonga with the kinship system.

urban data (Mitchell 1969, Whitten and Wolfe 1973). However, a network approach is narrowly structural in its focus on individuals and on the patterning of linkages formed by their associations as they engage in various activities. Within that frame of analysis, the organiza- of the activities themselves is peripheral, leaving systemic aspects of these activities unexamined. Rather than use a network approach, in organizing the data from Motulahi I have tried to show how a person's behavior within one sphere of activity shapes and is shaped by the alternatives available in other spheres. Thus we see that the kind of domestic group that a Tongan villager sets up or joins is partially a function of his kin-group affiliations, and that this in turn affects the range of alternatives available to him in other activities. It is through the relation of these activity systems that the various groups found at the local level are articulated with one another and with other groupings in Tongan society.

2. What is the explanation for the diversity found in the various forms of social groupings at the local level?

In examining the diversity of social groupings in Tongan society, I have focused on the diversity of options that people have in choosing memberships and affiliations. These data exemplify the variability of Tongan society at the local level. In considering them, we can distinguish

121 between diversity in the sense of multiplicity--i.e, the number of different groupings of the same kind--and diversity in the sense of structural differences among groupings of the same kind. Thus, in speaking of the diversity of household composition, I am referring to differences in the structure of household groups, not to the number of households found in Tongan villages. On the other hand, "denominational diversity" refers to the number of different denominations likely to be represented in each village, not to structural differences among congregations (although, to be sure, there are such differences). Both kinds of diversity reflect the "loose structure" of Tongan society. In Tonga we find, for example, that what matters in regard to religious affiliation is that a person should have some denominational affiliation, which denomination he belongs to is less important. Similarly, a villager achieves status through participating in ceremonial activities, but there is a wide range of alternative channels for mobilizing material and social resources to enable this participation. Tongans' households are functionally similar to one another, but there are no prescriptions regarding structure; fāmili groupings and kautaha groupings are even less formally delimited. This diversity of social groupings is possible because a wide range of variation is tolerated in Tonga

181 182 794 771 554 592 612 575 121 181 182 571

48: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1974
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and that *ha'a* do not operate at the local level in modern Tonga.[9] To date, kinship in its rank aspects and kinship operating at the local level have not been dealt with together in one publication, except in passing, and it is extremely difficult for anyone not acquainted at first hand with the Tongan data either to understand the nature of the Tongan kinship system or to relate the different things various writers have to say about it. Part of the reason for this difficulty is that accounts of observations of contemporary affairs have been mingled with the traditions and history of the past 300 years.[10] This paper, therefore, is concerned mainly with giving an account of the more important kinds of Tongan kin groups as they exist today and differentiating their scope of affairs, referring as much as possible to existing publications.

RANK AND KINSHIP AT THE SOCIETAL LEVEL

According to the anthropological literature, there are at least two quite different kinds of kin grouping in Tonga. One of these is the *ha'a*, which is a descent-based group that has been referred to by one writer as a "societal division"[11] and by most others either as a lineage or as a ramage or status-lineage.[12] The other type of kin-group is a sort of kindred that has variously been identified as the *fa'ahinga* or *famili* or *matakali*.[13] I shall refer to it as the *famili*, which is the term I heard most commonly used.

Not everyone in Tonga is affiliated both with a *ha'a* and a *famili*. In Goldman's words, "only the upper ranks can be said to belong to a lineage organisation at all."[14] This does not mean that chief's kin groups are of the *ha'a* type while commoners' are of the *famili* type, for both commoners and chiefs are involved in the *famili* system; nor does it mean that chiefs and commoners are descended from different ancestors and for that reason do not belong to the same descent groups. A commoner is simply "an individual who by virtue of descent through a series of younger brothers has in the course of generations become further and further removed,[15] geneologically speaking, from the chiefly persons with whom he has ancestors in common. Thus, although the boundary between the chiefly class and the commoners is not precise, only persons who are closely associated with high chiefly rank are involved in the *ha'a* system.

Nowadays, there are about 10 main *ha'a*. A *ha'a* is based on a grouping of chiefly titles, each of which is said to have originated with a particular descendant of a common ancestor. In turn, these originating ancestors were high-tanking kinsmen of the ruling kings of Tonga at various points

9. Whether the *ha'a* operated at the local level in aboriginal Tonga is still a matter for debate.
10. To the best of my knowledge, Urbanowicz (1972) is the first anthropologist to have insisted that the Tonga of the twentieth century is not a reliable guide to aboriginal Tonga.
11. Kaeppler 1971.
12. Gifford 1929; Sahlins 1958; Goldman 1970; Bott 1972.
13. Gifford 1929; Aoyagi 1966; Kaeppler 1971; Morton 1972.
14. Goldman 1970:242.
15. Gifford 1929:30.

48: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1974
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that commoners do not belong to *ha'a*, but also—as Morton has expressed it—that "commoners are commoners *because* they are not members of *ha'a*."[21]

When the system was first described in detail, by Gifford in 1929, *ha'a* were identified as lineages. In 1959, however, Davenport analysed the structure of non-unilinear descent and pointed out that "the features that might clearly differentiate the stem kindred from the sept become blurred in some instances, and the Tongan *ha'a* provides an excellent example."[22] A *ha'a* may be viewed as a sept—that is, a non-unilinear descent group—so far as the mode of tracing filiation is concerned. However, it is a stem kindred rather than a descent group in that there is collateral limitation on the range of descendants who are included in the group, with the branching stem consisting of the lines of titleholders. It is the branching feature of the connection among titles that Sahlins[23] identified in speaking of the *ha'a* as a ramage, a term introduced by Firth.[24] It was the focus on the validation of rank that led Goldman to identify the *ha'a* as a status lineage;[25] and it was the emphasis on succession in the male line that led Gifford[26] to speak of the *ha'a* as a patrilineage. In these analyses, the *ha'a* system was either explicitly identified as being coterminous with the kinship system, or the relationship between *ha'a*—as corporate organisations of kin—and the rest of the kinship system remained unclear.

It was left to Kaeppler[27] to point out that *ha'a* must not be identified as comprising the totality of the kinship system. *Ha'a* are part of what Kaeppler calls the societal structure. They can be understood only if they are viewed as having to do with relative status among people of the highest rank in modern Tongan society.[28] According to Kaeppler, "in order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a small social group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within society as a whole".[29] This distinction suggests Fortes' distinction[30] between the jural sphere, which Kaeppler calls the societal structure, and the domestic sphere, which Kaeppler identifies as the kinship system or the social structure. The distinction is extremely useful, although I prefer to refer to the societal sphere and the domestic sphere and view kinship as one of the frameworks for reckoning relationships within both spheres.

21. Morton 1972:52 (emphasis added).
22. Davenport 1959:563.
23. 1958.
24. 1936.
25. Goldman 1970.
26. 1929.
27. 1971.
28. Neither Beaglehole nor Aoyagi attempted to account for the finding that their commoner informants had little or no knowledge of the *ha'a* system, something that Gifford had dealt with only in very ambiguous terms (1929:29). Dr. Kaeppler explained that it is because *ha'a* are the affairs of chiefs and therefore not known to commoners. Her analysis suggests that the *ha'a*, as they are presently constituted existed also in aboriginal times. In my view, this has yet to be proven.
29. Kaeppler 1971:174.
30. Fortes 1958.

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DOMESTIC KIN GROUPS

Within the domestic sphere, Tongans distinguish three kinds of kin-based groups.[31] There is the household group, the *'api*, which is defined in terms of common residence and consumption and includes also the sharing of land that is held locally by members of the *'api*. Members mainly and usually, but not necessarily, are all close kin to one another. Most households are based on an elementary family or on a three-generation extended family group, numbering 2 to 32 individuals with an average of 7 persons per household.[32] In many cases a household includes attached individuals—related lineally, cognatically or affinally—who have moved in for a few days, a few weeks, or even a few years.

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The second kind of grouping is the *kainga*, which is an ego-based personal kindred that does not include affines. From time to time, groups based on *kainga* relationships are activated. The most typical of such occasions are funerals, when members of the *kainga* of close relatives of the deceased come to pay their respects. They come because of their relationship not to the deceased but to the bereaved. A *kainga*, then, is an unrestricted grouping with an ego reference, based on consanguineal kinship.

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Finally, there is the *famili*, which cuts across the *kainga*.[33] *Kainga* is mainly a relationship category while *famili* is an action group that provides goods labour, and personnel when they are needed, as well as access to land for subsistence purposes. While *kainga* ties transcend local boundaries, the *famili* is a village-based group and, like the household, it is a local group that includes affines. Membership in the *kainga* is simply a matter of kinship relationships; membership in the famili is defined by participation in the activities of the *famili*.

The constitution of the *famuli* is even more troublesome to delineate than that of the *ha'a*. Like the *ha'a*, it has features that make it look like both a non-unilinear descent group—that is, a sept—and a stem kindred; but it could also be described as a loose association of households linked by consanguineal ties. The core or stem of the membership of any one *famili* consists of a number of adult individuals in the village who are related to one another as siblings or as descendants of siblings, both male and female. The total membership of a *famili* includes these individuals, their children and grandchildren, the spouses of these people, and any other persons who are more than merely transient members of their households. Membership, however, is completely optative: a person can be affiliated with a *famili* so long as he or she is able to claim a kinship connection with the famili and have that claim accepted by the *famili*'s membership, even if the geneological connection is more remote than usual.

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31. Beaglehole 1941; Aoyagi 1966; Morton 1972.
32. Fiefia 1968. These figures on household size are from the 1966 Tonga Government census. In 1970, in a village census of 145 households, I found household size numbered up to 26 individuals, with an average of 8 persons per household.
33. Aoyagi devotes considerable attention to a description of the functions and organisation of the *famili*. She uses the terms "*famili*" and "*famuli* organisation" to refer to what I have identified as the *kainga* and the *famili*.

[124]

TONGAN KIN GROUPS: THE NOBLE & THE COMMON VIEW

612 None of the *famili* in the village where I was based goes back more than six generations to a common ancestor of all the stem members, and this includes at least three living generations. Some of the *famili* consist only of the households of a group of brothers and sisters and their parents (if the old couple are alive and living in the village), a total of no more than four or five households. The largest *famili* in the village goes back five generations to a common ancestor, and includes 4 living generations and more than 20 households, but this *famili* is in process of segmenting, having previously split off a generation ago from another, now entirely separate, *famili* in the village.

It must be understood that membership in a localised sibling descent grouping and membership in a *famili* are not the same thing. An individual could be closely related consanguineally to more than one sibling descent group in his village, or he could be related to one such group and his spouse to another, but the members of any one household probably would 612 not be members of more than one *famili*. The reason is that membership 476 is dependent on frequent and consistent participation in *famili* activities. [431] This includes contributions of material goods and labour on a wide range [574] of feasting occasions—feasts for weddings and funerals, church feasts, welcoming feasts, and so on. Members of the *famili* are expected to make contributions and participate without being asked to do so. In return, they can expect the same kind of assistance when they give feasts or other big public displays. This is an important point of contrast between *famili* and *kainga*, for *kainga* may also function as a circumscriptive resource group. However, while *kainga* members are appropriate people to provide assistance, if they are not also members of one's own *famili* one must go to them and ask for assistance. Doing so puts one in a subordinate position, which is not the case in provision of assistance within the *famili*. Nevertheless, one goes to a member of the *kainga* for things that cannot [423] be provided within the *famili*. This applies particularly to the use of land for a short-term period to grow a cash crop like watermelon. Thus the *kainga* is a residual source of assistance, supplementing the *famili*. Besides [574] assistance, participation in the *famili* and the obligations of membership [431] involve continual informal interaction with other members and member-households: visiting, gossiping, working together in the fields or around the house, like doing laundry together, and sending small gifts of food 612 back and forth. So long as a person continues to fulfil all these obligations, he or she remains a member of the *famili*. From this description it should be clear that it is extremely burdensome materially, and might well be impossible socially, either to maintain these formal and informal obligations with more than one *famili* at a time or to have members of the same [628] household involved in membership in different *famili*. Thus, people who live in different villages will usually not be members of the same *famili*. If they are, it involves a lot of journeying back and forth and seldom occurs except in the case of neighbouring villages or if there is no *famili* within the village with which a household can affiliate itself.

The obverse of the point that an individual does not belong to more than one *famili* is that *famili* tend not to overlap in their active membership,

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and it is this point that helps to distinguish the *famili* from the sept, or sibling descent grouping. This does not mean that a person will *say* that he is a member of one *famili* and not a member of another, but he and his household will tend to participate in the activities of one *famili* rather than another and thereby put emphasis on their connection with that *famili*, leaving their connection with the other/s dormant.[34] This occurs, obviously enough, when there has been a shift of residence from one village to another but it is both less obvious and more striking (to the anthropologist) when a household shifts its affiliation within the same village. Thus, in order to understand the *famili* system and the range and kinds of kin-based obligations that a person is involved in in the domestic sphere, there is little point in asking informants how many *famili* there are in the village, or who is the head of their *famili*, or even which *famili* they belong to. To study *famili* organisation one must go about at feasts counting heads and pigs and yams and ask who brought the pigs and who is cooking the yams, for not only is *famili* membership not fixed from the individual's point of view, but *famili*s themselves are changing entities.

COMPARISON OF HA'A AND FAMILI

The structure of the *famili* system is most different from that of the *ha'a* in the formation of new *famili*, especially when they are formed by the segmentation of an existing group within the village. A *famili* will begin to split up when the group as a whole becomes too large, or if one segment becomes markedly wealthier than another, or if for some other reason the burden of obligation becomes too heavy or unevenly distributed. Gradually, over a period of two or three or even more years, the descent group will become segmented through emphasis on ties within one section at the expense of ties to the rest. By the time the process is completed, there are separate *famili* for purposes of the formal and informal obligations of *famili* membership, although the members of the original *famili* will continue to act as *kainga* to one another on occasions such as weddings and funerals. In contrast to this, in the *ha'a* system, the unity of the *ha'a* is maintained despite segmentation and the creation of new titles and descent lines, for there is necessarily a continued emphasis on tracing the connection to the originating ancestors who provide the link with the descent line of the sacred kings of Tonga.

Despite the basic structural difference that has just been described between *ha'a* and *famili*, it should be evident that there are a number of important points of similarity between them. Possibly the most striking of these is the optative and variable nature of membership. A person will be a member of the group within which and through which he can best secure his own advantage and, if necessary, he will switch membership to do so. Such a situation might arise if a member of a *ha'a* became eligible for a title in a different *ha'a*, or if a member of a *famili* required the long-

34. Such manipulations of membership are clearly a strategy adaptive to flux. This type of organisation, therefore, is more likely to be prevalent in villages affected by migration and urbanisation and less likely to be found in rural communities outside Tongatapu.

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613 612 565 557 term assistance of members of a different *famili*. In the case of the *ha'a*, especially, it is not lightly done—I doubt any person would do it more than once in a lifetime—but it is common enough not to be exceptional. Switching membership fits in with the Tongan idea of *ngāue'aonga'aki 'ene faingamālie*, which can be roughly translated as "make use of the advantageous situation when it comes your way".

613 612 565 611 [171] The second point of similarity between *ha'a* and *famili* is that descent—or rather, filiation—is no more than a necessary condition for an acceptable claim to being a member; it is not sufficient to establish membership. This, of course, is not peculiar to the Tongan situation. The obvious contrast is with unilinear descent groups, and it is a feature common to many Polynesian kin groups. In the case of these Tongan groups, membership is activated by the person himself: in the *ha'a*, by asserting his claim to a high-ranking connection with a title; in the *famili*, by participating in the activities of *famili* membership.

CONCLUSION

121 613 612 My purpose in this paper has not been simply to describe two kinds of kin group in Tonga, but also to draw attention to the fact that these two different kin groups tie in with two different areas of social concern, or social fields, for which the tracing of kin ties is relevant in Tongan society. One of these has to do with establishing the range of people with whom an individual is involved in co-operation and participation in daily activities. These are the kin ties that establish the resource groups within the domestic sphere: ties to household, *kainga*, and *famili*. The other area of concern in tracing kin ties has to do with establishing and validating claims to high rank at the societal level.

[554] [565] 114 171 On the basis of comparison of the rank aspects of kinship, focusing on the *ha'a* in Tonga, Sahlins[35] came to certain conclusions about essential differences between the structures of Tongan and Samoan society at the local level. These conclusions have become enshrined in the teaching of Polynesian ethnography. It is hoped that these conclusions will now be re-examined. While the importance of aristocracy in Polynesia is not denied, the data presented in this paper show that a noble view is a faulty basis for generalising about an entire society.

35. 1958.

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mination. One alternative structural domain in which much social activity occurs is the Tongan village community. The other is the dispersed bilateral kin set.

Every Tongan adult has both a *fonua*, or island/village identity, and a *famili/kāinga*, or kin set identity. Because of the high geographical mobility of individuals in modern Tonga, one's village and kin set identifications may overlap, but are rarely co-terminal. Particularly in Ha'apai where land shortage and population pressure result in a great deal of movement, it is uncommon to find in any village community complete sibling groups related through two generations in residence.

The dispersion of kinsmen outside the boundaries of village communities defines for every adult individual a kin set[4] among which interactions are predominantly in terms of economic exchanges and support, but are also structured through traditional principles of rank in the *kāinga* (the total category of one's recognized kinsmen). Modifying Gray and Gulliver, I call this dispersed set of kinsmen a family estate which is a "complex of processes, involving on the one hand natural resources and products derived from them and on the other hand the family groups which exploit them ..." (Gray and Gulliver, 1964, p. 5). The Tongan kin set as family estate is composed of kinsmen who actively maintain economic transactions and who mutually have an interest in and are responsible for each other's economic position. The fact of dispersion and diverse economic activity makes contacts between members of a family estate periodic and by the medium of mail and messages rather than face-to-face.

Mitchell has made the important point that any model of kindreds or kin networks must take into account a temporal variable relating to the stage of the individual's life cycle (Mitchell, 1963, pp. 350-351). For Tonga, the temporal variable relating to the appearance of family estates is the stages of fission and replacement in Fortes' scheme for the developmental cycle of domestic groups (Fortes, 1958, p. 5). That is, the analytical temporal focus of the family estate is the period of dispersion of siblings from a single domestic group and the setting up

[4] I avoid the use of the term kin group or kin network, and instead use the term kin set which indicates that inclusion of individuals in a family estate from the total category of one's recognized kinsmen or *kāinga* involves principles of selection determined by a combination of an individual's economic activity and kinship position. My use of kin set is approximately the same as Gulliver's: he uses the term to denote a category that "comprises those people against whom ego can and does exercise claims, with whom he co-operates, and to whom he acknowledges obligations" (Gulliver, 1971, p. 18).

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602 of independent households. The analytical structural focus of the family
612 estate then is minimally a set of true (as opposed to classificatory) adult siblings. Also, aside from a minimal set of siblings, discrete family estates are also composed of kinsmen in other categories of relationship. Besides kin linkage, the other necessary criterion for inclusion in a family estate is the nature of one's economic activity. Thus, the family estate as used here is defined by a set of economic processes (flows of goods and services) among a set of kinsmen, the focal composition of which is a group of true siblings. A detailed analysis of the characteristics of the family estate, particularly with regard to status determination among component members, will define one major domain of modern Tongan social structure.

621 A detailed analysis of the characteristics of the village community will define an alternative structural domain in which concern with status determination differs from that in the operation of family estates. Every Tongan individual has a village or community identification through which he interacts with neighboring commoners, some recog-
621 nized as kinsmen, some not. Also it is on the village level that an
565 individual is integrated into the societal class structure by his relation-
554 ship with the noble on whose land he lives. Commoners in Tongan villages do not appear to manipulate genealogies to place themselves closer to the noble's immediate kin set. At the village level, one's status in the societal class structure is remarkably fixed.

565 It will be shown that concern with determination of rank in inter-
554 personal relations is important within family estates and between nobles and commoners at the village level, but not in everyday interactions
128 among commoners in the village. After a discussion of the major structural transformations that have occurred in Tongan society, the structure of the family estate and of the village will be described in some detail. Finally, the integration of these alternative social structures is discussed in terms of an individual's strategies for managing his varying social statuses in the alternative structural arrangements in which he is involved.

II. HISTORIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN TONGAN SOCIETY

554 Concern with determination of rank occurs within three analytical dimensions of Polynesian social structure: the kinship system, the status
612 or class system, and the descent group system (Goldman, 1970). In former times, the population of Tonga was distributed over the three

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main island groups, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and Tongatapu, in a single, branching segmentary system or ramage. Branching from the Tu'i Tonga lineage proceeded by collateral segmentation, and membership in segmentary lineages at all levels was determined patrilineally. Major societal segments were named *ha'a*, each composed of a number of related titled chiefs and their kinsmen of graded rank in collateral lineages (Gifford, 1929, p. 30; Goldman, 1970, pp. 310-315). *Ha'a* were ranked in terms of their claimed genealogical relation to the Tu'i Tonga line. The concept of *ha'a* was also used formerly to refer to the descent groups of particular chiefs within the major named *ha'a* and also to persons of a particular locality. Thus, *ha'a* was a flexibly used concept referring to some aggregate of people in Tongan society defined by both segmentary and territorial dimensions in different contexts.

Cross-cutting the ranked segmentary system encompassing the entire society was a class system with the *Tu'i* or king as the ruler of the society, the *'eiki* or hereditary chiefs ranked in relation to the *Tu'i* through their membership in the named *ha'a*, and *tu'a* or commoners related to particular *'eiki*. An intermediate class were the *matāpules* or ceremonial attendants of the *'eiki*, who were usually commoners appointed by the chiefs.

Although it is clear that chiefs determined their status by determining their rank to other chiefs and to the king through their membership in ranked, named *ha'a* it is not apparent that commoners were as concerned with ranking themselves in terms of their particular chiefs. Fluidity in the status positions of groups in the period before the rise of the present dynasty is well attested in the accounts of early observers (Martin, 1817) and in Gifford's data (Gifford, 1929). Nevertheless, the picture of Tongan society before the reforms of Tupou I is one in which the societal status of a commoner rose and fell with the varying fortunes of his chief, but his own rank within his chief's *ha'a* was fixed. One commoner could show how he was more closely related to his chief than another commoner, but the fact remained that he was still a commoner.

Goldman argues that it is within the kinship system that a commoner was compensated for his lack of rank in the class system and for the irrelevancy of his genealogical rank in relation to his chief (Goldman, 1970, pp. 446-447). In modern Tonga, a commoner's concern for rank in his kin group is far from merely a compensation for his lack of status in the class system. It is rather precisely through a commoner's rank in his kin group that he may achieve economic and even political power in modern Tonga. Of course, such a situation presupposes the transfor-

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holder (Maude, 1965, p. 29). Today, with the dissolution of the lineage and the descent principle among commoners, the term *kāinga* is applied to one's bilateral kindred or field of individuals that one recognizes as kinsmen. In former times, the commoner *'ulu mōtu'a* was linked to the class system by being considered the *foha* (son) or *tehina* (younger brother) of the chief to whose lineage his people were collaterally related and subordinated.

The internally ranked *kāinga* is conceptually related to rank in the class system in the following ways: (1) Relations between *Tu'i* and *'eiki*, and between *'eiki* and *tu'a* are marked by rigid deference behavior expressed in *tapus*. Within the *kāinga*, the important reciprocal ranked relationships between father-children, brother-sister, and father's sister-brother's children are expressed in similar *tapus*. (2) In talking about rank in the *kāinga*, Tongans discriminate status by saying that A is either *'eiki* or *tu'a* to B, i.e., class concepts are used to designate relative rank in the *kāinga*. Alternatively, the term *fahu*, 'above the law', is used in describing rank designation both within the *kāinga* and between classes. (3) Formerly, a kinship idiom was used to characterize relationships between individuals of different classes: *'ulu mōtu'a* were termed the *foha* or *tehina* of *'eiki*. Of course the *'ulu mōtu'a* were in fact usually related to their *'eiki* but the kinship terms used to characterize their relationship were idiomatic and metaphoric, rather than descriptive of actual ties. Finally, (4) Tongan kin terms have the character of titles, similar to titles of nobility defining the societal class hierarchy, which allocate particular statuses of honor to an individual and define for him standards of behavior concerning demeanor and deference in relation to all other individuals in his *kāinga*. These shared concepts of rank survive to the present in both the Tongan class system and the *kāinga* despite important structural changes that have occurred in Tongan society.

Conditions in contemporary Tonga may be seen against the backdrop of changes that occurred during the period of civil wars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the rise to power in the mid-nineteenth century of George Tupou I, the founder of the present royal dynasty. Tonga was ruled by a line of Tu'i Tonga, putatively descended from the union of a god and a woman of an earlier Tongan population. After a history of assassinations of Tu'i Tonga, in the fifteenth century, the twenty-fourth incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power on his younger brother, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, while retaining for himself the highest sacred status. The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repeating the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one

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level (Aoyagi, 1966). My own data bear this out - my informants did not relate to any social grouping called a *ha'a* in whatever context. However, as Kaeppler has demonstrated, *ha'a* membership is still a central concern of nobles and their internal ranking as a class (Kaeppler, 1971). Commoners in modern Tonga are indirectly articulated into a single societal structure not as before, through reckoning membership in descent groups that permeate the society in a single ramage, but rather indirectly through their territorial and historic association with a particular noble who in turn relates to the royal line through the old *ha'a*, ramage ranking.

Consequently, the segmentary descent system which was the basic form of traditional social structure has not disappeared in modern Tonga. Rather, only its continuity has been lost. What were before both territorial and segmentary units in the social structure have now become almost completely territorial units. It is primarily a village identification and only secondarily some general notions about being of the same blood of the noble or the noble's people that articulate commoners into a societal structure, the traditional elements of which are preserved exclusively by the nobles. The loss of a predominantly descent identification among commoners with the nobles and the king in an encompassing societal structure has served to eradicate the segmentary basis on which the class system was formerly superimposed in ancient Tonga. The demise of the continuous societal ramage in addition to Tupou I's reforms concerning the nobility have produced a rigid and autonomous class system in modern Tonga. At the same time, the introduction of modern governmental apparatus and consequent opportunities for commoners to rise within this system have cleared the way for the creation of a commoner middle class defined by education and economic/occupational status completely outside the surviving, rigid traditional class system.

Paradoxically, the possibility for social mobility of Tongan commoners through taking advantage of new economic and educational opportunities is tied to cooperation among kinsmen whose relations still operate on very traditional principles of status and rank. Of the three dimensions of former Tongan social structure, the kinship system has probably retained the most of a traditional flavor and content. The modified class system also remains traditional, but it can be seen that the greatest structural changes have occurred in the descent system. Most important, however, both the class system and the kinship system still share the same mould of rank concepts in modern Tonga.

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III. THE TONGAN FAMILY ESTATE

The dispersion of kin groups from native villages and islands in modern Tonga and the consequent formation of family estates are largely a result of the growth of population, the scarcity of undistributed land, and the individualistic land tenure system. There were no complete sets of adult siblings resident in 'Uiha; every adult individual had siblings and other members of his *kāinga* who were in long-term residence elsewhere.[5] It is difficult to distinguish permanent from temporary long-term absences, since many individuals who plan only temporary migration remain absent permanently. In addition, degree of dispersion of kin groups varies considerably from *kāinga* to *kāinga* in Tonga, and for any particular village community, the relative degree of dispersion of a village's component kin groups has a great deal to do with the presence of 'dominant' or economically powerful commoner families within a particular locality. Unless adult male siblings with families of procreation can find some local employment outside agriculture such

[5] The alternative models of social structure developed here are intended to be society-wide in scope. However, their range of application may appear to be more limited since my field data are biased by the fact that I worked in an area of Tonga, Ha'apai, where the rate of migration (and thus the degree of kin dispersion) is highest. Yet, I feel that such a bias does not in fact detract from the societal significance of my interpretive scheme, since the geographical mobility of Tongans in general is well-established by other writers (see especially, MacArthur, 1967; and Walsh, 1970), and from the few contacts that I had with kin groups in other parts of Tonga, I was impressed with the similar, mobile and dispersed nature of kin sets. The examples presented here, then, are not unrepresentative of what is happening in other Tongan communities. The following table, abstracted from the *1966 Census*, provides one specific useful, but crude index of population dispersion. No account of Tongans overseas is available (*1966 Census*, Table 10A, pp. 63-68):

		Tongatapu M/F	Ha'apai M/F	Vava'u M/F	Other Islands M/F
Tongatap	M	18,719	389	428	604
	F	17,414	452	466	405
Vava'u	M	2,212	225	5,088	158
	F	1,902	251	5,730	157
Ha'apai	M	2,455	4,513	280	222
	F	2,276	4,577	299	92
Other Islands	M	775	54	117	2,003
	F	853	74	125	1,748

Table a: Tongan Population Classified by District of Birth In Conjunction With District of Census Enumeration and By Sex (Totals Cover All Ages).

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as fishing or storekeeping, they must migrate, either alone or with their families.

Reasons for leaving one's native village are varied: Females leave when they marry out, enter some form of higher education such as teacher's training, or look after children who are in school either in Nuku'alofa or in one of the two other major towns of Tonga, Pangai in Ha'apai and Neiafu in Vava'u. Males leave to look for vacant or undistributed land in some other part of Tonga; to look for potential spouses; for education; for employment outside agriculture as government clerks, police, teachers, and *faifekaus* ('ministers'), or in fishing and shipping; to work abroad as laborers (there is a large Tongan community in New Zealand); or just for *'eva pē*, i.e., living among kinsmen away from home without any specific reason. Every one of the above reasons for leaving often involves several years, if not permanent, periods of absence from native villages. The increased need for cash, the selling of copra being the only way of acquiring money locally, and the desire for the conveniences of modern goods and services are the 'pulls' that complement the 'push' of land pressure which together serve as the stimuli resulting in dispersed family estates, both within Tonga and abroad, as a major feature of modern Tongan social structure.

The kin determinants of the composition of family estates derive from the channels of ranked status positions in the kinship system, defined briefly in the previous section. Anthropologists have been accustomed to specify *mutual* rights and obligations for reciprocal role relationships in kinship systems. However, in the case of Tongan kinship, elaborately defined rankings of reciprocal roles necessitate the lopsided or asymmetrical analysis of relationships in which either rights or obligations are emphasized, but not both. Within the sibling group, older brothers have primarily rights over younger brothers, and sisters have primarily rights over brothers. For extra-familial kin, a set of siblings has rights over mother's kinsmen(especially the mother's brothers and their children) and obligations to father's kinsmen (especially the father's sisters and their children).

In ranked kinship relations, one party has rights and the other has obligations which are culturally specified. The situation in the class system is parallel: nobles have rights vis-a-vis commoners, who in turn have obligations vis-a-vis nobles. This is not to say that individuals holding higher rank or status have no obligations to those with lower status. For example, Tongans emphasize the importance of *'ofa*, 'love'

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or 'kindness', as an essential motivation in all interactions. To describe someone as *ta'e 'ofa* ('without love') is to criticize his conduct severely. Thus, individuals in higher status positions whether in the class or kinship systems are obligated to act with *'ofa* toward individuals in lower status positions. However, this sort of generalized obligation permeating all relationships is distinct from the more specific definition of ranked relationships in terms of who has rights and who has obligations.

The channels of economic processes which define the Tongan family estate conform broadly to the following pattern based on the organization of rank in Tongan kin sets: Goods and services pass from younger brothers to older brothers, from brothers to sisters, whether married or not, from mother's brothers to sister's children, and from brother's children to father's sisters. Of course, in actual cases there is a great deal of variation in this pattern. The nature of economic activity and differing degrees to which individuals conform to traditional kinship norms (in turn related to the trade-off between personal ambition in the context of modernity and traditional patterns of rights and obligations as both burdens and advantages) account for much of the variation from the above directions of economic flows in family estates.

A question arises as to whether rights or obligations between ranked status positions in Tongan kinship are associated merely with the performance of ritual standards of behavior which confer honor or also with implied patterns of economic transaction and material support. If the latter is the case, as is argued here for the family estate, then rank among a particular set of kinsmen is a potent factor in the distributive aspect of economic activities. However, the answer to this question varies with the structural context of the analyst's attention. Certainly within the family estate, composed of dispersed kinsmen who have frequent, but little face-to-face contact and thus few opportunities to perform ritual behavior, rights and obligations associated with ranked relationships are manifested chiefly in terms of the form and direction of economic transactions among them.

On the other hand, within villages, where interactions among kinsmen are daily and face-to-face, rights and obligations associated with ranked relationships are manifested chiefly in terms of the performance of particular standards of deference behavior rather than in terms of economic transactions. Of course, on the village level, there are important food transactions in consumption among ranked kinsmen, but the organization of economic activities in production and distribution and for mutual aid and support often does not follow the channels

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of ranked relationships among kinsmen. In the village, economic cooperation is as much a non-kinship as a kinship based matter, and usually, individual families of procreation are self-sufficient in productive activities on the land. This contrasts with the importance of traditional patterns of rank in the kin set as a determinant of the form of economic flows in the dispersed family estates.

The nature of economic activities among kinsmen is also an important determinant of the composition of the family estate. A common economic factor in most family estates is the holding of land: one or more *'api tukuhau* will be held or controlled by males in a particular sibling group. At least one brother, usually, but not always the eldest, will remain in residence in the kin set's native village tending the land which he will eventually inherit. Other brothers will disperse and look for employment. The importance of particular brothers and sisters in the family estate will depend on the type of employment that they find. Particularly important are siblings who have salaried employment either in Tonga or abroad. Also important are mother's relatives who have salaried jobs.

The following are the kinds of help or support that one might desire from a kinsman in his family estate: help in finding an undistributed *'api tukuhau*; financial support for educating oneself or one's child; periodic remittances of cash from money-earning to non-money-earning kinsmen; help in migrating within Tonga or emigrating from Tonga; provision of accommodations away from one's home for indefinite periods of time and for whatever reasons; the provision of modern goods in traditional settings where such goods are scarce (an important example is the replacement of houses built with Tongan materials by houses built with European materials, supplied by kinsmen abroad or near the capital); the provision of food to kinsmen involved in non-agricultural activities; taking care of children in the absence of parents; and support, financial or otherwise, in the case of emergencies or special occasions. The mutual fulfillment of the above needs and desires among kinsmen is the nature of the content of the relationships among dispersed kinsmen in a family estate. These activities, which are of considerable importance to the economic and social development of particular individuals in a modernizing context, are channelled in terms of the hierarchically organized kinship system.

Varying configurations in the compositions and contents of specific family estates, then, are largely determined by a combination of kinship factors, derived from traditional norms of ranking, and economic factors,

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derived from the strategic or non-strategic positions of particular kinsmen. The strategic importance of position is focussed on the distinction between those who can offer cash remittances as opposed to those who can offer remittances in kind, and between those who are situated geographically in or near a modern sector (at home or abroad) and those situated in a traditional sector (the village or island community).

Now one may claim that what has been called a family estate is nothing more than one's universe of recognized kinsmen, divided into a number of categories, and from which an individual can flexibly select, initiate, and terminate relationships that provide particular advantages or fulfill needs. Since kin networks are dispersed and interactions are infrequent and rarely face-to-face (in fact only on occasions such as funerals when large numbers of kinsmen gather), it may appear even more obvious that relationships within the *kāinga* are ephemeral. In contrast to this perspective, I suggest that there is a readily observable corporate quality in the relationships among sets of kinsmen which can be isolated analytically as clearly defined family estates from their *kāinga*, i.e., from categories without easily definable boundaries covering large numbers of people who recognize mutual blood relationships.

It is contrary to traditional anthropological thinking to characterize groups as corporate which do not persist from generation to generation and which are not in effect descent groups, but other studies have convincingly demonstrated the corporate nature of nonunilineal, short-lived kin groups (see, for example, Campbell, 1964, on the Sarakatsani). Likewise, the Tongan family estate has corporate features. The 'corporate cement' is the growing sense of responsibility that a set of kinsmen has for each other's material welfare and individual development as they assist one another in dispersing from native households and 'getting started' in life.

Paradoxically, the Tongan corporate family estate arises precisely because the opportunities for joint participation in a particular activity (agriculture) are limited, and individuals must disperse to find a variety of forms of employment. Through time (the stages of dispersion and replacement in the developmental cycle), a set of kinsmen, focussing on a group of true siblings, provides each other with mutual aid and support in diverse activities. In time, these processes become stabilized in that transactions among the same cooperating, but dispersed kinsmen continue and reoccur (become 'routinized'). This process is similar to the general scheme elucidated by Boissevain: 'non-groups' develop into 'quasi-groups' which may develop into full-fledged groups (Boissevain,

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612 1968, pp. 542-556). The transitions occur between these structural states
602 as interactions among individuals in a network increase and become norm-governed. This process appears to occur in the formation of Tongan family estates.

612 In addition, the transitions from quasi-groups, or clusters in networks,
602 to groups is marked by the development of a covert or informal
554 authority structure among a set of individuals. The informal leaders of a quasi-group or group are brokers and managers of the group's interactions. Covert authority structures are clearly a part of Tongan family estates. Usually, a particular kinsman, male or female, will become a leader or at least the person with the most influence in the family estate either because of the strength of his particular economic position or because he is in a position to serve as an intermediary in facilitating the needs of one kinsman being met by the resources of another. It is not easy to predict who will be the manager of a family estate, because it depends on a highly variable combination of kinship
612 and economic factors. One might assume that among brothers, the
602 eldest will be the broker in a family estate, but it is often not the case.
593 I recorded data for one family estate in which the youngest brother
554 of a sibling set, having a high-paying clerical position abroad, mediated transactions and was constantly being asked for assistance both because of his position in the organization of rank (his obligations to sisters and older brothers) and because of his relative economic power.

612 Given the hierarchically ordered channels of economic flow defined
602 above, the development of routinized interactions among a set of kinsmen and of informal positions of authority justifies the construction of a model with corporate features which isolates distinct, but ephemeral units from ego-focussed Tongan *kāinga*. With respect to extra-familial or extra-sibling group kinsmen, specific individuals in the categories of mother's brother and mother's brother's children and of father's sister and father's sister's children will be incorporated in the family estate through time to the exclusion of other individuals in these categories as a result of the pattern of actual economic transactions. From the perspective of the sibling group, brothers and sisters will come to demand goods and services from particular individuals as mother's brothers and will recognize *effective* (material as opposed to merely ritual) obligations toward particular individuals as father's sisters. The rest of the individuals in any of these categories will form a part of the general *kāinga* category of a set of siblings, but will be excluded from the family estate.

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There is no indigenous category for 'family estate', and it is thus an analytical construct of the observer. On the other hand, there is indigenous cognitive justification, in the varied uses of the categories *famili* and *kāinga*, for the analyst's construction of a family estate model. The category *famili* is obviously borrowed from English; the category *kāinga* formerly referred to lineage in the Tongan ramage, but today refers to one's universe of kinsmen. Some informants used the categories *famili* and *kāinga* synonymously to refer to one's universe of kinsmen; others distinguished *famili* as one's family of procreation and/or one's family of orientation from *kāinga* as one's general category of kinsmen; still others specifically referred to *famili* as one's group of brothers and sisters and their *fānau* ('children') plus other 'prominent' kinsmen (usually mother's brothers and their children) living outside the village community and to *kāinga* as a residual category of all the rest of one's blood relations. The use of these categories is usually not consistent for any one informant, and much of the variation in use is accounted for by such factors as an individual's position in the developmental cycle of domestic groups. Nevertheless, the latter two uses of these categories reflect the fact that Tongans themselves do distinguish the existence of a discrete set of kinsmen separate from the composition of specific domestic groups in co-residence and from a general category of recognized kinsmen, the *kāinga*.

The ways in which the categories *famili* and *kāinga* are distinguished in use are also an important and subtle index of strategies that individuals employ to manage their positions in family estates. In principle, one can define himself out of obligations and into rights by altering the referents of whom he considers *famili* and whom he considers *kāinga*. The composition and content of family estates become stabilized through time, but in the process of development of a particular family estate, individuals can manipulate their positions regarding their rights and obligations to particular kinsmen. For example, individuals who attempt to maximize the support they can call upon and minimize their obligations (i.e., 'development-minded' individuals in a modern sector) will define *famili* as their family of procreation, defining other kinsmen, including true siblings, as *kāinga*, as more distant. On the other hand, siblings of these individuals, located in the village or traditional sector, who attempt a trade-off between obligations and rights, will define *famili* more broadly to include the very individuals in the modern sector who define their village kinsmen out of their *famili*. Differing perceptions of who constitutes *famili* (marking here the family estate)

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often result in conflicts and accusations over the fulfillment of one's duties (in terms of either rights or obligations) as a kinsman.

Objectively, there are limits to individual manipulation, since one 'who has made it' in a modern sector may not want to alienate his siblings by defining them out of the category covering effective economic transaction (the *famili* or family estate), and will thus settle on a less extreme strategy whereby he will fulfill obligations for his higher ranking kinsmen, but will also try to minimize the financially burdensome consequences of these obligations without alienating his siblings. The potential and real conflicts between individual and collective interests considerably complicate any attempt to provide a neat analytical model of the family estate. It should be noted, however, that although I found evidence of such conflicts, I found in general a remarkable congruity in the operation of the family estates for which I could gather data. Perhaps the degree of support provided by kinsmen in modern sectors to kinsmen in traditional sectors seems generous and significant to recipient villagers (as in the case of the provision of materials for building a European-style house), but not too burdensome to their donor kinsmen in a modern sector within Tonga or abroad.

A final important index of individual strategies within family estates is the treatment of sisters by brothers. In any sibling group, sisters have higher prestige status than brothers. In terms of material support, the obligations of brothers to sisters may have an important influence on the individual social and economic development of brothers, especially with regard to decisions about marriage. I noted cases of several men who never married or married quite late (after the age of 35). Explanations for this phenomenon often contained a quite explicit recognition that as a brother, one is obligated to actively support his sisters and their children indefinitely. Of course, not all brothers were quite so selfless since marriage is certainly the statistical norm in Tongan society. Some married brothers continued to actively support their sisters, married and unmarried; others responded only to requests from sisters for support; while still others claimed that their active material obligations of support to their sisters effectively ceased when their sisters married — then support, except on special occasions, became the responsibility of the husbands. The preceding discussions reveal that although channels of support are well defined by the organization of rank in the family estate, there is still much room for individual manipulation based upon the subtle ways that traditional rights and obligations can be interpreted and perceived in practice.

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IV. THE TONGAN VILLAGE

Village and family estate domains overlap in that every Tongan community is composed of segments of family estates, which are native to the community, and of segments of family estates, which although native to other communities in Tonga, usually have some *kāinga* tie to a native resident of the community in which they are located. It appears that after the passage of at least three generations since a change in residence, a kin set's identification with a new *fonua* becomes established and accepted by older members of the community, even though the kin set and others in the community may still recognize its connection with a previous *fonua*. Alternatively, there are cases of individuals (in 'Uiha, for example) who recently decided to settle in a community and who were immediately accepted as native members, because their ancestors (usually remembered not more than three generations back) came from the community. Establishing traditional associations with long-standing communities either through long-term residence over generations, or through renewing a former connection is an essential criterion for defining *fonua* membership as opposed to newcomer status in villages.

Associated with *fonua* identification is an individual's identification with a particular noble, who is either the landlord of the *fonua* (as his *tofi'a* or estate) or has historical associations with it. Even Tongans who live away from their native *fonua* recognize a connection with their noble. However, this recognition may have very little practical importance for them, since modern noble-commoner relations are focussed on the landlord-tenant aspect of these relations which has little direct significance for an individual living away from his *fonua*. It is within Tongan villages that interactions manifesting the hierarchical and egalitarian aspects of the traditional class system are most frequent and visible to the observer.

The operations of the class system within Tongan villages will be considered in two dimensions: noble-commoner relations and commoner-commoner relations. Points of discussion will be illuminated by reference to data collected in 'Uiha. A general typology of Tongan communities, based on the form of noble influence, is a useful background to the following discussions: (1) those communities located on the estates of nobles native to and resident in these communities; (2) those located on the estates of nobles native to but non-resident in them; (3) those located on the estates of nobles from other *fonua*, but resident in them; (4) those located on the estates of nobles from other *fonua* and non-resident in

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in other cases, it does not. Class distinctions and hierarchy are formally marked in Tongan villages in interactions between village residents, commoner or otherwise, and the actual persons holding noble-titles, whether they are full-time residents of their respective villages or not.

Informants in 'Uiha described the remarkable change in behavior that occurred after the eldest son of the previous noble succeeded to the title. Before assuming the title, the designated heir to the title joined in village activities with commoners such as recreational *fai kava* and work groups without formal recognition of his potential status. Having assumed the title, the same individual was, and is now, treated with highly explicit deference behavior (e.g., bowing when greeting him, using a special vocabulary still surviving in the Tongan language and used only in conversing with nobles) by all those who formerly associated with him in a far more equal and informal manner. In 'Uiha, there appeared to be no striking, or even, subtle, class distinctions in observed interactions between commoners and the siblings and *matāpules* of the present title-holder. On the other hand, the reputation of the present government District Officer, a 'Uiha commoner with a strong and long-standing friendship tie with the present title-holder, was greatly enhanced, although no special deference behavior was displayed toward him.

This process of sudden and formal isolation of an incumbent title-holder, marking the formation of distinctions in the class system, reveals an important dimension of social relations in Tongan villages. The elaborate marking of rank in the class system, viewed from a societal perspective, is contrasted by the prevalence of what Turner would call 'normative communitas' (Turner, 1969, p. 132) or essentially an egalitarian ethic derived from ideas about common kinship and historical origins, shared among people living together in a traditional *fonua*. In some sense, all people living in the same community are equal because they share the same *fonua* identification, regardless of class affiliations. Although *fonua* identification is primarily a territorial concept, it is still conceived by Tongans in terms of a kinship idiom.

Informants in 'Uiha described a general kinship ideology in which all residents of a particular community were considerd one *kāinga*, often expressed as the *kāinga fakafonua* (the 'home kindred' or 'community as kindred') or as a particular noble's *kāinga* (referring to his 'people' in general, or to the *fonua* from which he originates). The usage of this idiom is more than metaphorical, since informants explained to me that if they desired, they could in fact trace their blood or affinal relationship, no matter how distant, to any other member of the community. Practi-

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cally, however, this sort of calculation is never done, and individuals do recognize effective limits to their *kāingas*, i.e., those whom they recognize as occupying particular statuses as opposed to those who are non-kinsmen without specific kin statuses. Now, whereas ego-focussed, recognized *kāingas* are organized in terms of ranked statuses, already described, *kāinga* as a general ideology (what Fortes calls 'kinship amity' transcending the specifically defined norms of any kinship system) marks the unity of a group of people through a well-defined, but generalized consciousness of common descent.[7]

The other component of the egalitarian dimension of *fonua* identification is a common sense of historical heritage. For example, in 'Uiha, residents, regardless of class distinctions, pride themselves on their historical association with the founder of the present ruling dynasty. Such idioms and associations, emphasizing a sense of communitas and an egalitarian ethic, have as much, if not more, effect locally on interpersonal relations in everyday life as has the predominant ideology of rank and hierarchy in Tonga's traditional class system. The isolation of the noble title-holder from the members of his native *fonua,* including his recognized *kāinga,* is necessary to establish sharply the distinction between nobles and commoners at the local level in order to make the existence of the class system possible at the societal level. Thus, the crucial definition of class boundaries for the societal class structure as a whole can be observed on the village level in the behavior of the title-holder toward his *kāinga fakafonua* of wich he is a member, but toward which as title-holder he must establish a relationship of sharply defined inequality.

As noted in the second section, the modern Tongan noble has few legally defined prerogatives regarding the people living on his *tofi'a*. Any violations of the laws by a noble can be brought to court by commoners, although I know of no such cases in 'Uiha or in other communities of Ha'apai. In fact, the noble has a good deal of authority over the people living on his *tofi'a,* usually his *kāinga fakafonua.*

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[7] The merging of a kinship and a community identification occurs in a form of social organization which Murdock called a 'deme'. Goodenough elaborated the developmental aspects of this form (Goodenough, 1970, p. 53): "Overlapping or not, however, if descent groups eventually become coterminus with the community, the community in effect takes over their functions and they cease to exist as separate entities." This is essentially what happened in Tonga, as can be seen from the second section of this paper. If this view is correct, the generalized kinship ideology in Tongan villages is a residual function of the development that Goodenough posited.

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aware of the exact societal significance of the noble title to which they are associated, they still have a keen sense of honor carried for them by the title-holder. Still, the title-holder is not one of them, although he may have been before succeeding to the title. Rather, he operates in and becomes part of a different domain of social life in which commoners have no part other than in the representation of their honor through the noble, i.e. the domain of kingship and royalty expressed most vividly in the *taumafakava* or kava ceremony of the Tu'i, his *matāpules*, and the nobles.

The various types of kava-drinking situations and the rituals associated with them are the key to the contemporary preservation of traditional aspects of Tongan social structure.[9] Kava-drinking is a highly ritualized remnant of ancient Tongan customs, most of which were swept away with the virtual replacement of the important indigenous religious belief systems and related ritual by Christianity. The differences in *fai kava* (among commoners), *'ilo kava* (with a noble present), and a *taumafakava* (with the Tu'i present) reflect, and are a visual manifestation of, Tonga's class structure. One's rank in the class structure is seen by the observer in the hierarchical rituals of the various levels of kava-drinking. The ritual and symbolic superiority of the noble over his people is most striking in the *'ilo kava* ceremony both to the analyst and the indigenous informant on the village level.

In sum, the centrifugal force of the family estate on village residents is currently a major factor responsible for the erosion of the traditional supports for the noble's *de facto* prerogatives and influence in the community. People who are interested in the development of their dispersed estates, which may eventually be a means for their own social mobility, are less likely to be interested in the honor and status that they gain in the traditional system through the person of the title-holder. To the extent that this is true, the actual authority of nobles, at least in the

[9] For previous discussions and descriptions of kava-drinking ceremonies in modern Tonga see Gifford, 1929, pp. 156-170; Beaglehole, 1941, pp. 112-122; Newell, 1947; Collocott, 1927; and most recently, Bott and Leach, 1972. These authors (except Beaglehole) concentrate largely on the highly ritualized kava-drinking ceremonies of the king and nobles. There is as yet no adequate ethnographic account of the commoner *fai kava*. This is an excellent example of how fascination with noble customs can lead to an overemphasis on the permeation of concern with rank in all institutions and within all classes. As I suggest here, the commoner *fai kava* is permeated much more with the egalitarian ethic of the *fonua* than with the hierarchical ideology of the societal class system.

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621 traditional system, may be brought closer to the legal definition of their
565 limited powers.

[612] On the other hand, aside from their positions in the traditional class system, the Tu'i and nobles also control the positions of power in the modern political structure. Consequently, even though some villagers no longer hold values which support the authority of the nobles in the traditional class structure, they must nevertheless recognize the power of the nobles as a class (as opposed to *their* particular nobles) in the modern political system. However, in the case of 'Uiha, the present importance of the noble for the villagers can be attributed predominantly to his place in the traditional system rather than in the modern state. Depending on the development of commoners in family estates throughout Tonga, the locus (traditional or modern systems) of the noble's importance for them is bound to change.

Commoner-Commoner Relations

621 Just as the individual in Tonga can be analyzed both in terms of his family estate and *fonua* identifications, so the village community as a unit of analysis can be seen both as the co-residence of a number of segments of family estates and as a population unified by a local folk
621 tradition and the general egalitarian ideology already described. Although it is easy for the analyst to observe the ritual aspects of behavior in
612 interactions between commoners who recognize mutual *kāinga* member-
571 ship both within and between domestic groups, it is much more difficult
476 to attribute specific instances in which material aid and support are exchanged to the existence of kin ties between two exchanging individuals or domestic groups. That is, for any ego, one can observe patterns of ritual behavior reflecting the organization of rank in the Tongan *kāinga:* a male ego, for example, will demand respect behavior from his mother's brothers and their children and will be deferential to his father's sisters and their children and to his sisters. However, the application of such standards of behavior to ranked statuses within a recognized *kāinga* is not paralleled by recognition of material rights or obligations to occupants of particular *kāinga* statuses outside the domestic group, as opposed to others to whom one is related only through the idiom of the kinship ideology of the *fonua* (these others are *effectively* non-kinsmen in contrast to one's recognized *kāinga).*

621 I could not establish exclusive channels of exchange consistent with
476 the organization of rank in the Tongan kinship system among members of a village as I could among members of a dispersed family estate.

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Regular exchanges of food after Sunday religious services occurred among domestic groups both related (in terms of recognized *kāinga* membership) and unrelated. One is as much obligated to help a friend or neighbor asking for assistance as a recognized kinsman.

Thus, concern with status differentiation, entailing either rights or obligations, does not appear to underlie exchanges among members of a *fonua*, since as putative kinsmen of the *kāinga fakafonua*, everyone is obligated to help and can request support from everyone else. The only exception to this was the occasional assertion of an *'ilamutu* ('sister's child') of his/her right to the services and property of his/her *fā'e tangata* ('mother's brother'). However, in this case of the exercise of particular rights associated with the occupation of a culturally defined kin status, the economic consequences are trivial. The problem of attributing observed contents of interactions and exchanges to specific kinship norms or not is a complex and theoretically important question, long ago recognized by Firth (Firth, 1936, pp. 104-117). In 'Uiha, at least, rights and obligations in economic transactions of aid and support among domestic groups are related more to the egalitarian norms of kinship amity than to the hierarchical norms of the kinship system, the latter reflected mainly in the performance of particular appropriate standards of behavior toward ranked *kāinga* members.

There are important factors which do account for cooperation or the lack of it between domestic groups, or between individuals from different households. Obviously, in different contexts, villagers will alternately try to evade, initiate, or fulfill requests for support; the covering ideology of kinship amity and communitas is in no way a binding influence to which villagers uniformly adhere. To discuss these factors, it is necessary to refer to the alternative analytical perspective which views the Tongan village as a collection of segments of dispersed family estates.

In Tongan villages, individual domestic groups or households are discrete and self-sufficient units of economic activity on the land. Major flows of goods and services as assistance outside the domestic group or household occur among the dispersed kin set or family estate of which the village domestic group is a member or segment. The manner in which a domestic group responds to requests for support from neighboring households or initiates requests for support, in terms of the general kinship ideology of the *fonua*, depends significantly on such factors as (1) the economic position of a domestic group in its family estate (whether the members of households are primarily donors or

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476 621 [554] [612] recipients in the transactions among ranked kinsmen of the family estate) and (2) the degree of dispersion of segments of family estates outside the native village (whether a domestic group is the only segment in its family estate resident in a village or whether the component domestic groups of a family estate are relatively undispersed and concentrated in a particular community).

Although the kinds of mutual requests that villagers make are diverse, the most common requests in 'Uiha were for permission to use a section of an *'api tukuhau* for the planting of subsistence crops such as yams and taro, to borrow a dryer to process copra, to use a cart or boat to transport copra, or to procure cash and food for one's obligatory offerings to *kāinga* members, family estate members, the noble, or the government. Major economic cooperation and sharing of land occur among segments of family estates resident in the same village. Such co-resident family estate segments also constitute the dominant, identifiable commoner factions in the village.

476 621 612 665 423 In contrast to these family estate factions of a village, there are numerous domestic groups, often headed by the eldest brother in a family estate, which are essentially caretakers of land held by their respective dispersed estates. Cooperation in economic activity and the formation of identifiable factions are weakly developed among caretaker domestic groups. Their interests lie outside the native village, in the activities of their dispersed kin sets.

A family estate with concentrated segments composed the dominant faction in 'Uiha and the visibly most prosperous commoners in the village. Several caretaker informants grumbled because they had to stay on the land while members of their dispersed kin sets were bettering their economic positions elsewhere. Other caretaker informants, who benefited as recipients of gifts and support from their dispersed kinsmen, seemed relatively content with their positions as landholders in their native village. It appears that the strength of their positions in their respective family estates was a compensation for their relative lack of influence and power within their native village.

621 571 577 565 612 [554] An adequate description of social relations among commoners in Tongan villages, then, must integrate a prevailing egalitarian ethic, based on *fonua* identification, with the observed economic variation among members of a homogeneous social class, based significantly on factors relating to family estate identification. In this analysis, the influence of culturally defined concepts of rank, important in interclass relations and within the kinship system, has little direct significance.

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V. CONCLUSION

This paper has analyzed commoner focussed social relations in two major structural domains of contemporary Tongan society: dispersed family estates and the village community. Another important domain which constitutes the interstices of Tongan social structures is the growing towns of Tonga and the existing concentrations of Tongans abroad. Here, the analysis of social relations of different classes who share neither a *fonua* nor a family estate identification would probably differ markedly from that of the relations in the domains considered in this paper. The problems posed by a strange environment in a modern sector obviously alter the conditions of social life for individuals interacting with relative strangers. The influence of culturally defined concepts of rank on interactions between strangers, given homogeneous class identity, is a fascinating question beyond the scope of this paper.

Any attempt to construct neat models of alternative social structural domains in Tonga is offset by a focus on the individual actor and his considerable flexibility in manipulating his statuses in alternative social structures. In the above sections, numerous instances have been suggested in which such manipulations occur: variations in the ways that brothers recognize obligations towards sisters; variations in the ways that nobles as distinct from commoners recognize obligations toward kinsmen; variations in the boundary definition of the categories *famili* and *kāinga*; and variations among commoners in meeting obligations of *kāinga fakafonua* membership. These variations do not derive in most cases from an overt questioning of cultural ideologies which in fact permit considerable flexibility in individual interpretation and manipulation, but from the great variety of situations (implying in turn a great variety of personal motivations) in which individuals find themselves inside and outside of modern Tonga. This paper has merely identified the constant elements, the sets of statuses, that define the scene or background in terms of which individual motivations are articulated.

Every adult Tongan has a set of ranked statuses in a family estate, the definition of which over time is only partly his prerogative; a societal class status manifested in his subordination to the noble of his *fonua*; and a status as citizen, albeit lower class, of a modern government. The nature and expression of personal motivations, whatever they may be, represent an integration of the individual statuses that a commoner holds in the alternative structural domains in which he acts. Analytically, this integration of statuses in the accomplishment of individual ends may be viewed in terms of strategies.

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Ha'apai
'Uiha

For example, the strategy of a village resident who desires to leave his *fonua* for a modern sector may be to minimize (but not negate) his obligations, encompassed in his *fonua* statuses toward fellow villagers and his noble, while maximizing (to the extent that he can, given his set of ranked kin statuses) his returns in his family estate. Ironically, although individual social mobility in the context of development and modernization has often been associated with the freeing of the individual from the stifling bonds of traditional obligation and responsibility to the group, the possibility of individual mobility in Tonga from traditional life centered in village social structure depends upon the continued vigorous operation of traditional obligations in the structure of the family estate. Furthermore, the possibility of mobility in individual cases is significantly influenced by one's favorable or unfavorable position in a family estate, in turn dependent upon the configuration of economic transactions among ranked kinsmen. Once outside the village, the strategic problem for an individual who still remains in the family estate (some of course do define themselves out of rights and obligations and consequently out of their family estates) is to exploit the advantages of his situation in a modern sector while still fulfilling the obligations implied by his ranked kin statuses. This example has dealt briefly with the 'development-minded' individual; persons with other motivations would be analyzed in terms of other strategies for integrating the same sets of statuses.

It has been demonstrated that although a generalized 'concern for rank' in interactions is certainly an important aspect of modern Tongan society, it is by no means pervasive. One must be able to distinguish between the generalized awareness at all levels of the importance of ranking in a highly stratified society from the actual use or non-use of particular culturally defined concepts of rank in the structuring of interpersonal relations. Paradoxically, traditional ranking concepts appear to be of less importance in structuring interpersonal relations among commoners in the locus of traditional Tongan life, the village, than in the locus of current economic and social development, the family estate.

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Rank in Tonga[1]

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The Tongan archipelago lies in the South Pacific approximately between 18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of Fiji and southwest of Samoa. The 269 square miles are divided among some 150 islands, many of which are uninhabited. The population in 1967 was more than 78,000. Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with Fijians, with whom, both traditionally and at the present time, there is much social intercourse. Many Tongan genealogies include one or more Fijians, and these people are more highly admired than Samoans, who are closer to Tongans in both physical type and culture. A well known example is the late Queen Sālote's half-brother, who is the son of her father, Tupou II, and a high-ranking Fijian woman.

Tongans have their own language, derived from a proto-language which seems to have been one of the first groups to appear in the differentiation of the Polynesian language family. The Tongan language has its closest similarities with Uvean and Niuean, and somewhat lesser ones with Samoan and Fijian (Green 1966: 13). Highly developed in Tongan is a language of respect, in which words reflect societal ranking. Thus for the same meanings, when speaking to the king one uses different words from those used when speaking to chiefs, and still other words are used in speaking to commoners. Thus "go" is *hā'ele* when referring to the King, *me'a* to chiefs, *'alu* to commoners, and *lele*, the ordinary word for "run," is used when speaking of oneself to persons of higher rank. Integrally related to the language of respect is speechmaking. Ceremonial attendants (*matāpule*) are the traditional speechmakers and are of necessity well versed in the language of respect.

The most pervasive concept in Tongan culture is that of hierarchical ranking. All interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed by principles of rank, and material culture and language reflect this ranking.[2] The purpose of this essay is to delineate how categories of people are ranked, the principles on which rank and status are based, and the relationships between the various kinds of ranking. The focus is ethnographic, and an attempt will be made to describe organizing principles important to the Tongans in ordering their social relationships.

In order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a small kin group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within the society as a whole. Social status, which is based upon traceable consanguineal

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ties, can be subdivided: status among kinsmen (*kāinga* ranking) incorporates principles of age, sex, and whether the individual is related through the mother or the father; however, in *kāinga* inheritance, the significant dimension is male primogeniture within the patrilineal group. Societal ranking includes two kinds of rank: chiefs are differentiated from commoners, and entire societal groupings (*ha'a*) are ranked in regard to each other. *Ha'a* cannot be uniformly subdivided to form family groups, as one might ideally expect in terms of collateral segmentation. Instead, *ha'a* are societal divisions that have political functions and can be conceptually separated from the kinship system (although there is a great deal of interaction between them). One individual may rank higher than another in societal rank and lower in *kāinga* rank; or two individuals may be related in two different ways, and they may alternately outrank each other, depending on which relationship is being activated. Conflict is usually avoided in such cases because the activity taking place generally prescribes which kind of ranking shall receive priority. A social occasion within the kin group activates different principles than does a village affair, or one that involves the whole society.

The first major strand to be dealt with will be *kāinga,* on which social status and inheritance among kinsmen depends. Second, class ranking will be dealt with, that is, the ranking of the roles of chiefs and commoners. Finally *ha'a* rank, that is, the ranking of groups associated with a title that originated by collateral segmentation, will be described. Throughout, the concepts of *'eiki* (chiefly) and *tu'a* (common) are used; that is, within each strand some individuals or groups are considered to be higher than others. Though the strands are separated for easier explication, the relationships between them are implicit. These relationships are sometimes contradictory, but because of this are useful in reinforcing chiefly position, especially at the highest societal levels.

KĀINGA RANKING

All relatives to whom one can bilaterally trace a relationship are called *kāinga* (kinsmen). One has many *kāinga,* a number of whom may act as a group on various occasions, and perhaps it is best to consider *kāinga* as consanguineal relationship. *Kāinga* is not the same as a Samoan *ainga.* The Tongan language has no indigenous word for family, the word *fāmili* having been adopted from English to refer either to the nuclear family or to the bilocal extended family, but it seems that no such word was used during pre-European times.[3]

Kinship Categories Used for Reference Among Kāinga

Kui: all male and female kinsmen two or more generations above ego.

Mehikitanga: all female kinsmen one generation above ego related through the father, e.g., FaSi, FaFa, SiDa.

Tamai: father and all male kinsmen one generation above ego related through the father.

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Fa'ē: mother and all female kinsmen one generation above ego related through the mother.
Fa'ē tangata (*tu'asina*): all male kinsmen one generation above ego related through the mother.
Tuofefine (man speaking): all female kinsmen of the same generation.
Tuonga'ane (woman speaking): all male kinsmen of the same generation.
Tokoua: kinsmen of the same sex and the same generation.
'Ilamutu (man speaking): children of *tuofefine*.
Fakafotu (woman speaking): children of *tuonga'ane*.
'Ofefine (man speaking): female offspring of self and *tokoua*.
Foha (man speaking): male offspring of self and *tokoua*.
Tama (woman speaking): male and female offspring of self and *tokoua*.[4]
Mokopuna: all male and female kinsmen two or more generations below ego.

These categories are ranked according to several principles. Starting with ego's generation, the first principle is that females have higher status than males. It is only after sex is taken into account that the second principle, elder has higher status than younger, comes into play. Thus a girl of twelve years of age will have higher social status within the family than her brother of twenty years of age.

In the relationships of ego with the parental generation, another principle takes precedence. This divides an individual's kinsmen into two parts, the paternal kinsmen being higher than ego and the maternal kinsmen being lower than ego. Operating on this principle is sibling status. Thus in the parental generation the highest kinsman is father's eldest sister, and of only slightly lesser status are other sisters of the father. After them father's brothers are differentiated in status according to age. Continuing with these principles, we see that the lowest in status are mother's brothers and only slightly higher are the mother's sisters. The principle of age in the mother's sibling group is of little importance to ego.

The relationship of ego to members of the generation below depends primarily on whether they are related through his sisters or his brothers. Sister's children are higher in status than ego, which is reflected in the special term he uses for them (*'ilamutu*), the highest of this group being his sister's eldest daughter. Ego's brother's children are classified with his own children (*'ofefine* and *foha*) and are therefore lower than ego. Ego's sister's children have higher status than his own and his brother's children.

Little status or favoritism is involved in ego's relationships with the grandparent-grandchild generations, except for a slight elevation of a daughter's children over a son's children.

The principles of status among *kāinga* delineate the above-named categories of kinsmen, and with these categories or kin types go definite rules of behavior. Thus by knowing the kinship label of any kinsman, an individual knows what the appropriate interaction should be, and what role he should play.

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Behavioral correlates for the named kin types can be summarized as follows:

Avoidance—demanded of siblings and parallel cousins of opposite sex (i.e., between *tuofefine* and *tuonga'ane*) and all cross-cousins related through the father (i.e., those whom your father calls *'ilamutu*).
Near equality—among siblings and parallel cousins of the same sex (i.e., *tokoua*).
Restraint and obedience—demanded of males and females to *mehikitanga.*
Welfare and direction—demanded of *tamai* to their *'ofefine* and *foha.*
Satisfaction of wants, familiarity, and warmth—demanded of *fa'ē* to *tama.*
Demanding and demeaning—appropriate of males and females to *fa'ē tangata* and cross-cousins related through the mother (i.e., whom ego's mother calls *fakafotu*) and of females to the children of *tuonga'ane* (*fakafotu*).
No restraints—between *kui* and *mokopuna.*

These behavioral categories are based on the three principles of status outlined above: (1) those kinsmen who are related through the father have higher status than ego, while those related through the mother have lower status than ego; (2) females have higher status than male kinsmen of the same generation, which results in avoidance;[5] and (3) elder has higher status than younger among siblings of the same sex.[6]

The extension of these principles to the generation below ego results in the sister's children of a male ego being higher than his own. This category of person, his *'ilamutu* (children of his "sisters") are *fahu* to him. A *fahu* can take any of ego's possessions; for example, a *fahu* may go to ego's farm and take a pig without even asking for it. Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations to his *fahu.* (The closest English gloss for *fahu* is "above the law.") On the other hand, the children of ego and the children of his brothers are under his immediate direction, and he is responsible for their welfare and decisions, which he usually makes for them. Ego is not responsible in this way for his sister's children; her husband and his brothers have this responsibility. One's cross-cousins are not terminologically distinguished in ego's own generation. They are, however, distinguished in practice—ego's behavior to them is the same as the behavior of his parents, who do distinguish them terminologically. For example, if a cross-cousin is called *'ilamutu* by ego's father, ego treats this cross-cousin with the respect due to someone of higher rank, just as his father does.

These categories are determined by birth and do not change in an individual's lifetime. Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives her anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions.

Let us use a funeral as an example of how these categories of individuals interact. When ego dies, three groups of people assemble.[7] Those of his father's kinsmen are *'eiki* (chief), those of his mother's side are *tu'a* (common),[8] his wife and her kinsmen are neither low nor high. Family

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groups bring gifts of mats, tapa, and food, and present them first to the head of one of the three groups, depending on how they are related to the deceased. The gifts are recorded and taken to the house where the dead man lies on a pile of mats and tapa. At his head are one or more persons who are *fahu* ("above the law") to him, i.e., his father's sister, his sister's children, or others of the same kinship categories. The family group bearing the gift presents it to the *fahu,* and each kisses the dead man. After this, the way in which one is related to the deceased determines his course of action. Those whose status is higher than the dead man, i.e., related through the dead man's father, can either stay in the house near the corpse or join the kava ring outside.[9] Those whose status is lower than the dead man, i.e., who are related through the latter's mother, go immediately outside. Here the males prepare the earth oven, the food from which will be distributed after the burial. The females prepare tea and bread, which is eaten before the actual burial, and plait coconut-leaf baskets. The baskets are filled with food from the oven, and one is given to each person who attends. Those who have come to the funeral because they are kinsmen of the dead man's wife, and who are not related to the deceased, may follow either course of action. The deceased's children help with the cooking and do not enter the house until it is almost time for the burial. At this time they kiss the corpse and immediately leave the house. Nonkinsmen who attend can stay in the house, join the kava circles, or help with the cooking and basket plaiting, their choice usually depending on what their friends are doing.

Among the *kāinga* everyone knows his position with regard to everyone else present. The kin term itself reflects the appropriate roles required by the principles of status. These principles predetermine each person's course of action in any family social activity, regardless of other statuses he may hold in the society. Even the highest noble in the land must prepare the earth oven at the funeral of his father's sister, while a commoner of no material wealth may sit and drink kava if he is a descendant of the deceased woman.

Inheritance among the *kāinga* uses some of the same principles, but with quite different results. First, although women have higher status than men in most social relatinships, they do not inherit. Second, inheritance is reckoned patrilineally; material wealth, mainly in the form of land, passes from father to son. Third, by the rule of primogeniture, the eldest son inherits. Thus in inheritance the relative age of siblings is of considerable importance in contrast to the small importance it assumes in other social relationships.[10] The eldest son inherits, becomes the head of the family, and is expected to look after his brothers. His sisters are presumably supported by their husbands, although a man looks after his sisters until they are married and gives first fruits and other gifts to them throughout his lifetime.

A man can inherit matrilineally only if his mother has no brothers. In this case he is said not to inherit from his mother, but from his mother's father, so that the patrilineal emphasis is maintained by skipping his

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mother's generation. This activates a status principle already operative within the *kāinga*, in which ego may take what belongs to his mother's brother.

The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges among the *kāinga* can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives.

SOCIETAL RANKING—CLASS

At the level of the society as a whole, there are two kinds of ranking. The first kind of societal ranking is class rank, which differentiates chiefs (*'eiki*) from commoners (*tu'a*). This is further refined in two ways. First, the most chiefly of chiefs is set apart and is known as the *tu'i* (or today, the King). Second, an intermediate class between chiefs and commoners is *matāpule*, who are ceremonial attendants to the chiefs. Thus the traditional class structure can be summarized as follows:

Tu'i: King;
'Eiki: Chiefs;
Matāpule: Ceremonial attendants;
Tu'a: Commoners.

Membership in one of the three classes (*'eiki*, *matāpule*, and *tu'a*) is ascribed by birth. A *matāpule* may be recruited from the *tu'a*, but the person selected usually has some genealogical tie to a *matāpule*. Marriage between an *'eiki* and a *tu'a* does not change the class of either, and their children are known as *ngesi taha* (one-shelled). Since European contact in the time of Tupou I (1875), the chiefly division of the society has been further divided to distinguish legal chiefs (nobles)from traditional chiefs. The nobles are the land holders and because of this have a great deal of power.[11] The other chiefs have only ceremonial significance and prestige because of their high birth, having descended from younger sons of former chiefs, nobles, and kings, or their daughters. The position of the traditional chiefs parallels the position of women in the *kāinga*, in that they have ceremonial status but no real power. What is important in the class system is the "blood" of both father and mother. It is possible, for example, to be a chief in the class system by virtue of genealogical chiefly connections, and to hold a *matāpule* title. The best known example of this is Tuita, who holds a *matāpule* title, but is a chief in the class system because of a series of marriages of the holders of the Tuita title to daughters of high chiefs. Such people are known as *mu'a 'eiki* (or simply *mu'a*) to show that they are *matāpule* by title but chiefs in the class system.

SOCIETAL RANKING—*Ha'a*

In the second kind of societal ranking, titles are ranked. The titles of chiefs originated by a process of collateral segmentation starting from the first Tu'i Tonga. The *matāpule* titles originated either when the individual

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mother (see Figure 6). His title, however, is Tu'i Kanokupolu, which he gained from his mother, Tupou III.

All present-day chiefs in the Kingdom trace their relationship to one or more of these three lines, and ultimately back to 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga. According to *ha'a* fission one knows the relative status of his *ha'a* in relation to all the others. An examination of *ha'a* ranking and segmentation shows that at the highest level there is a dual division in which the Kauhala'uta outranks the Kauhalalalo.[14]

HA'A RANK AND ORIGIN—KAUHALA'UTA

The dual division of the society separates the Tu'i Tonga and his people, Kauhala'uta, from the Ha'a Takalaua and all the lines which segmented from this line which are known collectively as Kauhalalalo.

The Ha'a of the Kauhala'uta originated in two ways:[15]

I. The heads of the original *ha'a* came from the sky. These included:
   A. 'Aho'eitu (half man, half god), progenitor of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga;
   B. Tu'i Ha'atalafale (known as Faleua, i.e., chief of the second house; also known as Tu'i Pelehake) celestial half brother of 'Aho'eitu;
   C. Falefa—four ceremonial attendants, each of whom became the head of a *ha'a:*
      1. Tu'i Loloko;
      2. Tu'i Talau;
      3. Tu'i Matahau;
      4. Tu'i 'Amanave.

II. The origin of the remaining Kauhala'uta *ha'a* stem from branches descending from various Tu'i Tonga. Included here are the Sina'e and Falefisi:
   A. The original Sina'e are said to have been the earthly half brothers of 'Aho'eitu (in distinction to Tu'i Ha'atalafale, who was his celestial half brother). There are three *ha'a* which belong to the Sina'e:
      1. Sina'e Eiki (chief Sina'e);
      2. Sina'e ki Mu'a (front Sina'e);
      3. Sina'e ki Mui (back Sina'e).
   B. Falefisi originated when the sister of one of the Tu'i Tonga married a Fijian and, because of the patrilineal emphasis of the society, began a new *ha'a.*

Falefisi, though an offshoot of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, is considered a foreign *ha'a* because its male progenitor came from Fiji. For purposes of social ranking within the Tu'i Tonga "family" however, Falefisi is higher, having descended from the sister of the Tu'i Tonga (sisters having higher status than brothers). Thus an individual of Falefisi may be lower when it comes to *ha'a* ranking, but higher as far as *kāinga* status is concerned. As an example, the people of the village of the Tu'i Ha'ateiho (one of the Falefisi) do not dance for the present descendant of the Tu'i Tonga, but the village of the Tu'i Tonga could dance for the Tu'i Ha'ateiho, because the latter is

[See p. 187--Analyst.]

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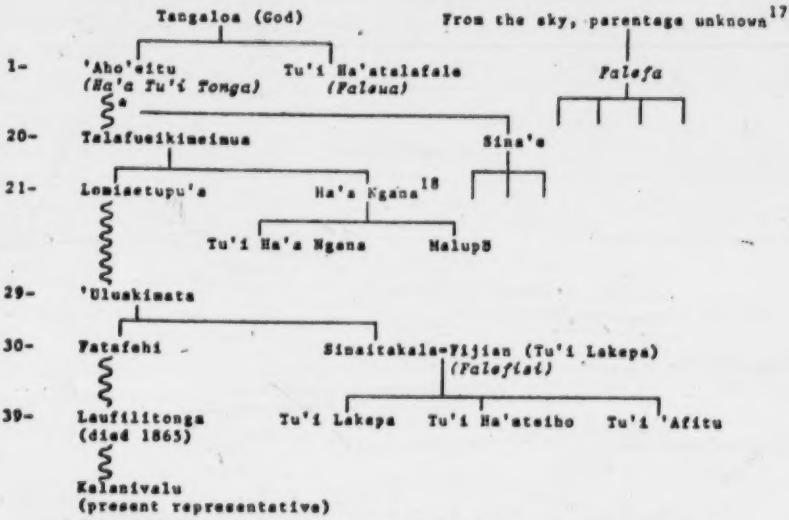
a descendant of a sister of a former Tu'i Tonga. Dance presentation of the Tu'i Tonga's village to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho acknowledges the fact that the Tu'i Tonga is, in *kāinga* status, lower than the Tu'i Ha'ateiho. However, such an occasion concerns only Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and Falefisi when they interact among themselves and is no longer of society-wide concern.[16] In any other case, villages on the Kauhala'uta side would bring their dance to the Tu'i Tonga, thus activating societal ranking principles which place the Tu'i Tonga at the top. Thus, though the Tu'i Ha'ateiho does not have the societal standing of the Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Tonga still must give *kāinga* ceremonial recognition to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho.

The internal ranking of the Kauhala'uta can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Segmentation and Internal Ranking of Kauhala'uta



* A wavy line indicates the passage of several generations.

The highest ranking *ha'a* of the Kauhala'uta is Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, and second is Faleua, both having descended from the god Tangaloa. When the Tu'i Tonga is absent, the head of Faleua takes his place. This *ha'a* is not really subservient to Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, because it did not segment from it, and the ceremonial language reserved for the Tu'i Tonga is also used for the Tu'i Faleua. The origin of the Sina'e is not definitely known, but they are thought to be the earthly half brothers of the Tu'i Tonga, because they are associated with the matrilineal side of the Tu'i Tonga and sit on the left side of the kava circle, the left side being lower and associated with the mother. The Sina'e are not nobles, but have places as chiefs in the royal kava circle of the King.

The third chiefly *ha'a* of Kauhala'uta is Falefisi, which segmented from

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Ha'a Tu'i Tonga at the time of the twenty-ninth Tu'i Tonga, 'Uluakimata. Fatafehi, son of 'Uluakimata, became the thirtieth Tu'i Tonga. Sinaitakala, the daughter of 'Uluakimata, married a Fijian who became the head of a new *ha'a* (Falefisi). The Falefisi descent lines of Tu'i Lakepa, Tu'i Ha'ateiho, and Tu'i 'Afitu originated from this marriage.

The eldest daughter (or occasionally the eldest son) of a marriage of the Tu'i Tonga *fefine* (sister of the Tu'i Tonga) and a chief of one of the Falefisi (usually Tu'i Ha'ateiho or Tu'i Lakepa) was distinguished with the special title of Tamahā and had the highest social status in the land because of her *fahu kāinga* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. She did not, however, have highest societal rank. The Tamahā had the same class rank as the Tu'i Tonga (*'eiki*), but lower *ha'a* rank (Falefisi). She had nothing to do with ruling the land and had no standing or power in the societal structure. Her descendants are lower in *ha'a* rank than the descendants of the Tu'i Tonga. As an example let us take the installation of Tuita at a royal kava ceremony during the reign of Tupou II. This is an activity that involves *ha'a* rank within the whole societal structure. On this occasion the highest ranking representative of the Kauhala'uta was to take a presentation to the King. Tu'i Ha'ateiho tried to claim the right because the last Tamahā came from the Tu'i Ha'ateiho line and thus outranked Sioeli Pangia, who at that time represented the Tu'i Tonga. Tu'i Ha'ateiho's claim was not recognized because the Tamahā was a woman and thus did not figure in this sphere of influence (the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's *ha'a* rank being that of Falefisi). Tu'i Ha'ateiho also tried to claim higher rank than Tu'i Lakepa because of his Tamahā connections. His claim again was not recognized, because Tu'i Lakepa stands as "father" to Tu'i Ha'ateiho in the *ha'a* structure. *Ha'a* rank in this case takes precedence over social status within the *kāinga*.

The Tamahā derived her social standing from principles of *kāinga* status. The Tu'i Tonga, though chief of the highest ranking *ha'a*, had lower social status within his *kāinga* then his sister, because of the principles of sibling status. The eldest daughter of his sister was *fahu* to him. The daughter of the Tu'i Tonga would be lower in *kāinga* status than the Tamahā because a man's daughter is lower than he (father's side has higher status than ego), and a Tu'i Tonga's daughter is *fakafotu* (female speaking, cross-sibling's child) to the Tu'i Tonga *fefine* (his sister). Thus Falefisi, even though only the third-ranking *ha'a* within the Kauhala'uta, can produce individuals who have higher status than the Tu'i Tonga within his *kāinga*.

The Kauhala'uta *ha'a* collectively outranks the Kauhalalalo *ha'a*. Only Ha'a Tu'i Tonga individually outranks the various *ha'a* of Kauhalalalo. Faleua, however, is considered almost its equal because of its celestial origin and of the person who holds the title. At present this is the younger brother of the king. Sometimes Tu'i Faleua is not acknowledged verbally, but what is done for the King is also done for the head of Faleua. For example, at the coronation kava ceremony the King was given the first kava, directly after which a bowl of kava was taken to the king's younger brother, without calling his name.[19]

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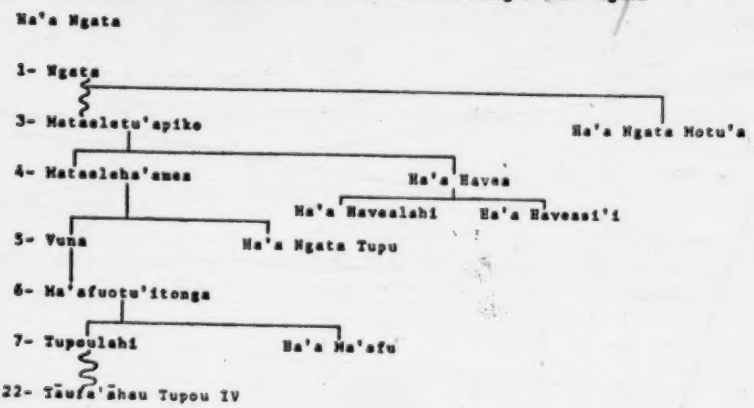
Havealahi (*lahi*-large) and Ha'a Haveasi'i (*si'i*-small). Ha'a Ngata Tupu segmented at the time of the fourth Tu'i Kanokupolu. The final major *ha'a* to segment was Ha'a Ma'afu, which descends from the sixth Tu'i Kanokupolu. The segmentation of the Ha'a Ngata is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Segmentation and Internal Ranking of Ha'a Ngata



HA'A TODAY

The foregoing are the main *ha'a* which exist in Tonga today, and each has a specific rank. Several chiefs may belong to each *ha'a*, each being the head of a smaller societal division which originated by segmentation from the main *ha'a*. From the Tongan point of view those enumerated above are the important *ha'a*, for they are the ones that are recognized in speech preludes (*fakatapu*) given at kava ceremonies on the societal level.

The *ha'a* affiliations of present-day nobles can be seen in Figure 4. The King, although he is the ranking member of the Ha'a Ngata, is usually distinguished in speech preludes as Ha'a Moheofo. This term originally referred to the societal division which gave wives to the Tu'i Tonga. At one time this was Ha'a Takalaua, but it now refers to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Intermarriage of the three main *ha'a* has elevated the blood ties of the line of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, even though his *ha'a* affiliation is only with the Kauhalalalo. Those *ha'a* which are not subservient to the Tu'i Kanokupolu in societal (*ha'a*) ranking are allied by close blood ties, and obligations that come from *kāinga* status can be activated so that the Tu'i Kanokupolu is highest on all accounts.

A Tu'i Kanokupolu's son had lower *kāinga* status than his sister. The social repercussions that might result in suceeding generations could be prevented by cross-cousin marriage (or by marrying a foreigner, as in the Tu'i Tonga line). An example of such a cross-cousin marriage can be found in the ancestors of the present king (Figure 5).[25] This was a strategic

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in favor of a high chief with strong alliances. A chief's "people"[26] need not be related to him by blood, but rather are associated with him by virtue of living on the land (*tofi'a*) which goes with his title.

DISCUSSION

Inequality is a conspicuous feature of Tongan social organization, but dominance and subordination do not operate in one dimension. Rather, Tonga can be characterized as having multi-dimensional ranking, and not all of the dimensions fit into one pattern. In any discussion of rank it is necessary to specify *kāinga* status; inheritance within the *kāinga;* class rank; or *ha'a* rank. For each kind of rank a different combination of principles is involved: *kāinga* status depends on maternal and paternal principles, sex, and age; *kāinga* inheritance depends on primogeniture within the patrilineal group; *ha'a* rank depends on segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga line (an individual ideally tracing his *ha'a* through his father's line); and class rank depending on one's genealogy through both mother and father.

It is interesting to note that when Tongans discuss rank they often do so with reference to "who cooks for whom."[27] In our example of the funeral, the cooks are those related through the mother of the dead man, especially the *liongi* (see Note 8). At the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 the *liongi* were those related through her mother, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga line, and especially the present Kalanivalu, who is her *tama 'a tu'asina.* Kalanivalu was *liongi* to her because of their *kāinga* relationships, even though his *ha'a* rank derives from the Tu'i Tonga, while her *ha'a* rank derives from the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Ha'a are societal divisions comprised of individuals associated with ranked titles. *Ha'a* have political and ceremonial functions and are of significance only to those in positions of power or potential power and are known mainly by chiefs who stand to benefit by power play or tradition. Most Tongans today (and probably traditionally) do not know the relative ranking or origin of the various *ha'a,* because these are affairs of the chiefs and do not concern them.

Aoyagi, who worked in Tonga in 1962 and 1963, states (Aoyagi 1966: 150) that "*ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I made enquiries." Her failure to elicit information on *ha'a* is not because they do not exist, but because she asked the wrong people about them. She worked with commoners, mainly in Nukuleka, which is a village under a *matāpule,* rather than a chief. Any noble, chief, or member of his family, however, can tell one without hesitation to which *ha'a* they belong and with what senior *ha'a* they are associated. At the kava ceremony held in connection with the coronation of Tupou IV on July 6, 1967, the present title holders of the various *ha'a* took part, and they were well aware of their positions and duties within the framework of the societal structure. Aoyagi (1966: 173) takes both Gifford and Sahlins to task for characterizing Tonga as an internally stratified system, saying:

> He [Gifford] wrote that "the whole system of lineages may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs," which is not the case of the *famili* organisation at

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

all. And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage type according to M. Sahlins) can not be possibly found in this village. Supposing the ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by Leka. Actually Leka is in the highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people are internally stratified.

This illustrates precisely how the existing situation can be clouded by a failure to distinguish societal ranking from social status, failure to understand that a different kind of rank operates within them, failure to delineate how these systems are subdivided and ranked in relation to specific activities, and failure to understand how the systems can be manipulated.

Aoyagi seems to imply that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this is not the case. *Ha'a* are part of the societal structure and have little to do with villages, and not all villages have men of title. No doubt "ramages" did not exist in Aoyagi's village, since "ramages" (*ha'a*) can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole society and would make no sense at all in terms of a single village. But that *ha'a* do exist as societal groupings is undeniable. The whole traditional government is predicated on them, and one can observe them in operation in a royal kava ceremony. Village structure in Tonga today is a Western overlay rather than part of the traditional system. Traditionally the people did not live in villages, the usual pattern being one of dispersed settlement (Maude 1965: 27). The positions of *ofisa kolo* (town officer) and *pule fakavahe* (district officer) are appendages of a central administrative system that is concerned mainly with health, sanitation, and taxes.

Power and prestige are still functions of the traditional sociopolitical system based on *ha'a* affiliation and the class division that separates chiefs from commoners. Education is a new force, but those educated men who succeed usually do so by manipulating the traditional system to their advantage, e.g., by marrying the daughters of high-ranking chiefs. The society as a whole is still kinship oriented, and the principles of *kāinga* rank are acknowledged on even the most important societal occasions.

During the recent coronation kava ceremony, a large pig was brought to the front of the kava circle and divided, ostensibly to be eaten by the chiefs and *mātapule* in the kava circle, but actually to be ritually taken away from each of the individual participants by a person of higher rank. This visually acknowledged the social fact that rank operates in more than one dimension, one set of principles being used on the societal level while a different set was operating within the *kāinga*. On this particular occasion all the *ha'a* were represented, and their relative rank and association with other *ha'a* were shown by the order in which their members were served and the position in which they were seated (*ha'a* ranking). Some of the title holders of the low-ranking *ha'a* are higher in class rank than the title holders of some of the high-ranking *ha'a*, but in this case *ha'a* rank takes precedence.[28] The persons who took away the portions of the pig had higher status within their *kāinga* than these highest societal ranking people.

Tonga has an internally stratified system and is very conscious of rank at

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

all levels. The concept of rank is, perhaps, the main factor in holding the society together at its higher levels. That the family system need not have the organization it has is apparent, and does not make for the most economic running of a household. The family system is understandable, however, if one looks at it as a medium for inculcating values that are necessary for the operation of the higher levels of society.

All Tongans are socialized into *kāinga* status and operate by principles on which this status is based. The differentiation of high and low in the *kāinga* is easily extended from the family to the chief-commoner division of the society, the same terms *'eiki* and *tu'a* being used in both systems. Only a few Tongans are socialized into the *ha'a* ranking system of the societal structure, understand its workings, and know how to manipulate it. Although everyone operates within this larger society, they do not participate in the power-play of the *ha'a* heads. Indeed, according to Aoyagi, many do not even know that *ha'a* exist. This raises the question of how people can operate by rules which they do not know. One is led to conclude that though they do not know about *ha'a* ranking, they do know about *kāinga* inheritance, which uses the same principles of rank by genealogical seniority, usually within the patrilineal line. One operates in various dimensions of the society using the same principles. There is no inherent contradiction because the principles enculturated in the *kāinga* carry over almost imperceptibly into the societal system. Authority based on status acknowledged within the *kāinga* is a potent factor in the successful functioning of the more loosely organized structure at the societal level, where kin ties do not hold the systems together.

Kāinga status is a reflection of, but not a subdivision of, the societal system. Perhaps for a few generations at the beginning of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty, the society could be subdivided into smaller and smaller divisions ending with individual families. But any attempt to do this today would take us into the realm of fiction. Generations of Polynesian political manipulation have evolved a complex stratified society whose higher levels hold together because of values learned at the *kāinga* level. Authority and decision making are vested in the genealogically senior male, and ceremonial recognition is given to his sister and her children. In the same way authority and decision making at the societal level are vested in chiefs. To these *ha'a* heads individuals owe their allegiance either because they are related or because they live on their land. A man gives to the chief the same kind of obedience and deference that he expects from his *kāinga*. The chiefs in turn pay similar obeisance to the King.

Perhaps it is not premature to predict that, when change comes to the societal level, it will be because the family has changed first and no longer inculcates the authority structure which is not needed at the family level, but is almost certain death to the system if it does not exist at the societal level. Signs of such change are already manifest in Tonga, especially in the families of educated commoners who feel that authority should be delegated to those who have ability rather than to those of high birth. The children of these people are highly achievement motivated and are not likely to be

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

satisfied to take a rear seat to those whom they feel to be intellectually inferior.

It would seem that Tonga will not cease to be a rank-oriented society. Rank is endemic to Polynesian society and no doubt will continue to be an organizing factor in Tongan social and societal structures. The principles of rank will probably shift to a greater emphasis on achievement, which indeed was true at the time when Tupou I appointed his legal nobles from a large choice of chiefs. At that time achievement was based on warfare and ability. After the nobles were appointed, however, the traditional principles of rank took over, and in effect they changed only in small details that functioned in such a way as to make major changes unnecessary. This may continue to operate in the future, with educated commoners marrying the daughters of chiefs to elevate their descendants' class rank. But it is hard to see how *ha'a* rank will continue to be the vehicle of political power play. Already there are two educated commoners as Cabinet Ministers, and it seems probable that, not too far in the future, office holders by virtue of tradition will operate in a sphere of influence that is separate from real political power, which will then be in the hands of nontraditional leaders operating under new principles of rank.

NOTES

1. Research in the Tonga Islands was carried out for one and one half years from 1964 to 1967 and was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health, and by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties the late Queen Sālote Tupou III and the present King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV as well as the many Tongans who helped me in my work, especially the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, who was especially helpful in traditional and genealogical information. I would also like to thank Raymond Firth, Alan Howard, Roger Green, Ward Goodenough, and Marshall Sahlins for reading and commenting on this paper. Most of the information was collected in the field; there was little reliance on earlier published accounts of Tonga. The reader will note that frequently details do not agree with Gifford (1929) but that in many ways Tongan social organization was the same in 1967 as it was in 1920.
2. Rank as manifested in material culture and language will be the subject of a subsequent paper.
3. The term *matakali* is also in use today. The word is a borrowing from Fijian *mataqali* and refers to a group not necessarily related by traceable blood ties.
4. A woman may differentiate her *tama* by the terms *tama fefine* (female offspring) and *tama tangata* (male offspring), but it is not necessary to do so because her behavior to them is the same. A man, however, elevates his daughter over his son and correspondingly differentiates them terminologically.
5. See Gifford (1929) and Beaglehole (1941) for customs relating to brother-sister avoidance.
6. *Tokoua* can be divided into *ta'okete* (elder sibling of the same sex) and *tehina* (younger sibling of the same sex). The principle of relative age has little importance here; in fact, descendants of two brothers or two sisters are often termed *kāinga tau* (fighting relatives) because they often argue over which one is higher. This principle does have importance, however, in inheritance.
7. The example assumes that all have the same class rank.
8. A dead man's *tama 'a tu'asina* (children of his mother's brother) and the *tama 'a tu'asina* of his mother (children of his mother's mother's brother), are known as *liongi* (for funerals only).

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

9. Men and women form separate kava circles to avoid *tuofefine* ("sisters") and *tuonga'ane* ("brothers") being in the same circle, which would considerably restrict the topics of conversation.

10. For example, if a man's eldest sister is not available, any sister can play the required role.

11. This innovation has tended to complicate rank even further by introducing a kind of "estate system," in which the organizing principle is land tenure and land rights.

12. Most commoners say that they do not belong to a *ha'a;* however, they can often trace their relationship to a chief and know to which *ha'a* he belongs. This may be because Tongans are usually quite modest, not claiming *ha'a* membership because "such things are affairs of the chiefs."

13. This version was given on a school radio broadcast in 1966, and is common knowledge among most Tongan adults.

14. The names of the two divisions refer to their original geographical placement. The Kauhala'uta lived on the inland (*'uta*) side of the road, while the Kauhalalalo lived on the lower or ocean side of the road, in order to protect the Tu'i Tonga and his people. The data presented in this section are mainly from the Honorable Ve'ehala, a chief of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a; Sister Augustino, a descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line; and a book of genealogies belonging to the present-day descendant of the Tu'i Tonga line.

15. See Figure 1.

16. At one of the last society-wide events which included dances (the coronation of the present king on July 4, 1967) the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's village did dance at the *mala'e* of the Tu'i Tonga. They were not, however, dancing for the descendant of the Tu'i Tonga, but for the Fijians who were guests at his home for the coronation, and the Tu'i Ha'ateiho was thus activating his Fijian relationships. Most of the villagers dancing did not know why they were dancing at the home of the Tu'i Tonga, only that they should not be doing so. In this case it was necessary not only to have the participants' point of view but also the societal point of view in order to understand the formal significance of this dance presentation.

17. The Falefa were the original *mātapule* (ceremonial attendants) and, because of their celestial origin, form a separate class. Later *mātapule* were recruited from the *tu'a* (commoners) or brought from Samoa.

18. Ha'a Ngana, which includes Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Malupō, originated by segmentation from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga as shown here. Today, however, they are included in Falefisi. Note that the origin of Ha'a Ngana and Fale Fisi presented here differs considerably from Gifford (1929: 34). However, Gifford (1929: 39), is not consistent.

19. Note that the present King and his brother are heads not only of two different *ha'a* but of *ha'a* in two different divisions, demonstrating that societal inheritance is not simply by patrilineal descent, or even close blood relationship, and that *ha'a* are not lineages by the usual definition.

20. See Figure 2.

21. According to my informants, Nuku was the younger brother of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, not his "son," as Gifford (1929: 36) states.

22. The name originated on an occasion when the three of them were wrapped in a mat and resembled one man with three heads.

23. Kanokupolu is the name of a village on the western end of Tongatapu. The word itself means "flesh of Upolu," which refers to the tradition that the mother of Ngata was from Upolu, Samoa.

24. The title Tungi is presently vacant; the last Tungi is now King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV.

25. Cross-cousin marriage (*kite tama*) was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. The traditional incest rules seem to have been that one could marry his third cousin (*mokopuna tolu*), and cross-cousin marriage was not a perceived alternate in choosing a mate. Rather, cross-cousin

114 gists have used descent to mean
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> ...theories of biological kinship, forms of family organization, rules of kin group membership, and rules of succession to political office and to social and property intitlements as if they were all necessarily reflections of the same thing.

121 In this discussion, I will not attempt to define descent generally, but
611 rather I will specify its various meanings and functions as used in this study.

611 Within Tongan society three functions of descent can be conceptually distinguished. The first function of descent is surrounding ego with a personal kindred and defining his relationships to kin categories within the kindred. A second function of descent is structuring the succession to titles and corporeal property. A third, less clear and less definable, function associates ego with a locale and a group of kinsmen residing in the same locale.

114 The failure to separate conceptually the function of descent has
611 been a recurring problem in ethnographic reports on Tonga. Gifford
(428) (1929) overemphasized the function of inheritance of titles and land and consequently gave a destorted view of Tongan kin ideology.

(613) The lineages are patrilineal. Each consists of a nucleus of related chiefs about whom are grouped inferior relatives; the lowest and most remote of whom are commoners. Some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live. Thus the commoners living under the chief, Ata, are reckoned as of his lineage, Ha'a Ngata Motua. The landed chiefs of today are all grouped in lineages (Gifford 1929: 30).

114 A view opposing that of Gifford's is presented by Beaglehole (1941)
611 and Aoyagi (1966). Both of their accounts stress bilateral reckoning
612 and the personal kindred as the dominant characteristic of Tongan kinship.

114 612 613 Kaeppler is non-commital in discussing the nature of the relationship between the personal kindred and the lineage system. In the quote above she says the two "...can be conceptually distinguished..." and adds the cautious statement that "...there is a great deal of interaction between them." One of Kaeppler's own comments suggests that the distinction between the two is more real than conceptual.

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> Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions (1971: 177).

This statement comes closer to the position which states that an individual's position in the lineage system has very little to do with his relationship to his kindred.

121 128 The discussion above serves to illustrate that Tongan kinship performs several functions and one cannot hope to describe kinship by focusing on one function. Below I will present a description of Tongan kinship based on the data I collected and analyzed with the thought in mind that different kinship functions may be fulfilled by different ideologies and structures.

Kainga: A Personal Kindred

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The Kāinga is a true bilateral kindred inclusive of all consanguines to whom ego can trace a relationship either through his mother or his father. Kāinga does not include affines. Kāinga is not a corporate group, but a body of kinsmen may be recruited from it to act corporately for specific occasions, e.g., weddings, funerals, and

612 birthday celebrations. A group formed in this manner can be referred to as an occasional kin group. The kāinga then is an egocentric group of kinsmen, theoretically coterminous for real siblings. The size of an individual's kāinga is only limited by his knowledge of his own con-
[124] sanguineal relations. Adult informants vary considerably as to the number of kinsmen with whom they can remember exact ties, some knowing as few as 90 and some knowing as many as 200.

For ego, kāinga is a category which is conceptually opposed to non-kinsmen. Kinsmen are a sphere of people who are more trustworthy, more dependable, and more willing to assist ego than any other segment of society. Among kinsmen 'the spirit and reality of cooperation' fetoko-ni'aki should always prevail.

The kāinga is divided into fourteen categories and each category is associated with a different set of behavioral correlates. Further refinement of this kin categories is specified by a ranking system, which ranks not only the categories but ranks individuals within the categories.

601 Kin Categories and Kin Ranking

Tongan kin terminology utilizes the criteria of sex of ego relative to alter, the sex of alter, bifurcation, and genealogical distance to distinguish categories. In G-1 the four categories are determined by the sex of alter and the sex of the first connecting link in any genealogical sequence. In ego's generation categories are distinguished by the criteria of alter's sex relative to ego, and alter's sex. In G-1 all three criteria--sex of ego, sex of alter, and bifurcation are

601 applied. All kinsmen two or more generations above ego are referred to as kui but generation distance may be marked by number so that grandparents are kui taha, great grandparents are kui u'a, etc.[1A] Likewise, all kinsmen two or more generations below ego are grouped under the term mokopuna and generations may be stipulated by number (See Table 8 for terminology).[B] Affines, including H, HB, W, WZ, are referred to as mali but are not considered to be part of one's kainga. [612]

Tongans easily shift from this clasificatory terminology to a more descriptive form by using the same terms but confining their meaning to the "real" relationships, e.g., 'brother of my father' tokoua o'e tamai. Names or titles are used in address, not kin terms. [551] [554]

602 554 Kin ranking is a conceptual overlay on the terminological system just described. Relative ranking utilizes a somewhat different set of criteria combining filiation, sex of alter relative to ego to form a system of relationships in which no two kinsmen can be said to be of equal rank. The criterion of filiation is applied first so that all agnates outrank uterines; agnates are 'eiki 'chiefly', and uterines are tu'a 'commoners'. The criterion of sex is applied so that in all category pairs distinguishable only by sex, e.g. fa'e-fa'e tangata, the female category is of higher rank than the male category. In categories including both male and females, e.g., 'ilamutu, females outrank males regardless of age. Lastly, alters of the same sex and same category are ranked according to their relative age [illegible] duals outrank younger individuals. [561] 602 554 562

A. [For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst]

B. [See pp. 42-43--Analyst]

593 562 [594] [612] Wives have lesser rank than their husbands, but this is a ranking within the nuclear family not bearing on kāinga ranking. Daughters are next highest in rank and are usually given preferential treatment. If a family has meat at a meal, daughters are allowed to choose their portion before sons, and the latter may have to go without. Girls are given comfortable beds but boys are allowed to sleep where they can find a place, which is often outside the sleeping house because of social restrictions between brothers and sisters. Girls are generally clothed more fully and with better garments than boys. Daughters are kept under [834] a watchful eye and made to stay near the family 'api, particularly at night when they are only allowed out in the company of a chaperone.

Girls are socially superior to their brothers and ideally brothers are obligated to be guardians of their sisters' social and physical well-being. Men should give first fruits to sisters and assist sisters and their husbands in gardening, building, or other tasks.

Parents sometimes treat one child as a favorite (pele) and give that child better food and care than is proffered to others. Usually this child is the youngest or oldest of a sibling group and is usually [597] a female. Sometimes an adopted child will become a favorite as it is felt that special attention should be given adopted children. If a male child is chosen as the pele, he is often treated as a female; he is kept close to the 'api, taught feminine tasks, and even in some cases [522] is dressed and groomed as a female. Tongans consider this sort of role reversal very comical and persons outside the household willingly treat the child as required by the role alteration. I never heard of anyone

613 which membership is optional and dependent upon residence and kin ties. It functions in regard to special events such as weddings, house construction, and funerals. Matakali in contrast to kāinga is not conceived of as egocentric, has a membership based on residence, and is viable through more than one generation.

622 178 Today, an 'ulumotu'a may be almost any male who has some claim to authority through seniority, title, or control of some other power base such as the position of town officer. In pre-contact Tonga this was probably not the case; Latukefu (1967: 8) states that in the past only titled persons could hold the position of 'ulumotu'a. Also the 'ulumotu'a of pre-contact Tonga were quite powerful as they held the final rights to land in a sequence of overlapping stewardship from the Tu'i Tonga down to the 'ulumotu'a level. Under that system the land of the matakali was distributed and cultivated under the supervision of the 'ulumotu'a. The modern system of land tenure has altered the chain of stewardship so that an 'ulumotu'a no longer receives land to administer. Of course, the 'ulumotu'a receives land as an individual, as do all other men, but he would not receive stewardship over a large block of land unless he holds a title with an estate.

613 178 The matakali of today, compared to its historic form, appears to have changed both in structure and function. Gifford (1929), Latukefu (1967), and Maude (1971), all described matakali as segments of larger lineal groupings, ha'a. Now the matakali only group households but are not themselves segments of larger units. This change is probably due to the fact that 'ulumotu'a are no longer given land to administer and,

Summary

128 In this chapter I did not attempt a full description of Tongan social organization as a large amount of material on that topic is already available. I did attempt to outline those aspects of Tongan kinship that have implication for the study of kinship reciprocity. The exact relationship between kinship and exchange will be presented as the conscious model of kinship reciprocity in Chapter VI.

612 The important points presented in this chapter are that each individual possesses a personal kindred, kāinga, with each individual in the kindred ranked relative to ego. This relative ranking is the basis of the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Also, each individual 592 593 is a member of a household within which relationships are characterized by a strong definition of the rights and duties of each household member. Some households are grouped together in larger residential units, 613 [592] [591] matakali. Matakli are based on a membership with consanguineal links to a headman; these links are usually agnatic but not necessarily so. The corporate character of this group is weak, and headmen have little power with which to coerce their matakali members.

565 613 Most commoners are not members of the named rammages or lineages (ha'a) and consequently have little interest in or knowledge of ha'a. Ha'a are the institutions through which titles and estates are claimed and only function in regard to those factors. Commoners are, however, affiliated with a certain noble by virtue of their residence on his [571] estate. The relationship between noble and villager is better characterized as that of "landlord-tenant" than one of kinship.

597 [602] ever of the biological parents is not related to the prospective adopter, while the parent that is related can claim he was ready to honor the request if only his spouse had been agreeable.

If the prospective adopter is able to find parents willing to allow him to adopt this child, the custody of the child is transferred without any ceremony. Although there is no exchange of goods at the time 597 571 of the transaction, adoptions are thought to bring the two sets of parents closer together, and future reciprocities may increase. After the adoption transaction the adopting parents' obligations to the biological parents increase. However, any mention of money or goods owed is socially unacceptable and any person doing so would be censored. In 597 one case the biological parents of the adopted child approached the adopter and requested that he return the child. The adopter agreed to return the child if the parents would compensate him for having cared [626] for the child. The parents, unable to pay the amount asked, made the incident known publicly, and the adopter became a subject of gossip for trying to "sell a child".

A rather typical example of the adoption process is provided by a man I shall call Samisoni. Samisoni did not marry until late in his twenties, and after three years of marriage his wife had not had a [612] child. Samisoni wanted a child from his own kāinga so he went to his younger brother, Sione, who had one child of two and an infant of less than a month, and requested the younger child. Sione was agreeable to the adoption but the child's mother said she did not have enough children, and was unwilling to give one up. The request was denied. About

CHAPTER VI

IDEOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR

128 121 In this chapter I will present the conscious model of kinship reciprocity and compare it with the patterns of reciprocity I observed in adoption transactions and in the transfer of material items. The procedure will be to describe the conscious model, see if it is predictive of behavior, and then discuss the results of such a comparison.

The Conscious Model

602 554 The basic characteristic of the conscous model is that it describes the rights and duties existing between ego and the several kin categories, and bases the distribution of rights and duties on the concept of kin ranking. Although the conscious model I present here is based on 602 554 114 primary data that I obtained, other researchers in Tonga have noticed and recorded similar data. E.W. Gifford (1929: 17-19) discusses the effect of relative ranking on behavior, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole discusss some implications of kin ranking for kinship reciprocity (1941: 76-78), and Adrienne Kaeppler, after discussing kinship rank, said

[612] [43] [137] > The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges among the kāinga can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives (1971: 179).

However, none of these researchers has presented any data on exchange that would indicate whether the conscious model is actually reflected

571 602 476 where European institutions such as life insurance, workman's compensation, social security, and freehold land are not available.

571 602 [434] [182] Although the primary function of the agricultural system is to provide for the Tongan family's everyday subsistence needs, a secondary function, which at times takes on major importance, is to provide the owner with products to be used, either directly or indirectly, in fulfilling his social obligations, both to his kinsmen and to the [43] [437] society as a whole. Accordingly, although European goods and cash are being increasingly used, exchanges or presentations of traditional Tongan products, such as fine mats, tapa cloth, yams, pigs, kava, and sugar cane, are still the 128 predominant means of maintaining such ties. In order to gain a better understanding of their inter-relationship with the agricultural system, a brief description and analysis of the well-ordered ties within the Tongan society is necessary. These ties or obligations fall into two general classes: kinship ties and social ties. The following treatment of Tongan social structure is based on the author's personal observations and works by Gifford (1927), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1938), Nayacakalou (1959), Maude (1965), Aoyagi (1966), Latukefu (1967), Kaeppler (1971), and Morton (1972).

601 612 **Kinship Ties**

The most common Tongan terms denoting personal kind-

601 612 red are kainga and famili. The term famili seems to be a more exclusive term and refers more to consanguineal ties, whereas kainga, the term which is used in this description of kinship relations, has a broader connotation and generally includes affines (non-blood relations), such as brothers and sisters-in-law or adopted children .

602 592 612 An individual's ties with his kinsmen are operative on two levels: within the household and within the broader extended family or kainga. The Tongan household, generally 592 referred to as an 'api (an allotment of land), is the basic social and economic unit. It can be defined as a group of 591 individuals working, eating, and sleeping together. Residence is primarily patrilocal, with the wife moving to the husband's village, although there are numerous cases of matrilocal or neolocal residence.

592 [596 [594 [178 In the past, most households were composed of extended families; however, at present the trend is more toward nuclear families, comprised of a man and wife and their real and/or adopted children. Many households also include unmarried brothers or sisters, a parent, or even a friend or relative from another village or island group. As of the 1966 census, the mean household size for Tongatapu was 6.9 612 persons. The larger unit, the kainga, not only includes the individual household, but also those bilateral kindred who [602 reside in other households, villages, or island groups. The [184 size of this broader kindred group, and closeness of ties

612 602 184 within the group, depend primarily on the individual's knowledge of his consanguineal relatives and their whereabouts (Morton, 1972).

602 593 554 The eldest sibling of a given sex is of highest rank; among siblings, a female is of higher rank than the male; and in marriage, the man's kinsmen are of a higher rank than the woman's kinsmen. As a result, brothers and their children are of inferior rank to their sisters and their children. Likewise, children in any marriage are inferior to their father's kinsmen and superior to their mother's kinsmen.

The consequences of rank become more obvious when viewed in its traditional context. Traditionally, anyone of higher rank had rights to the property of kinsmen of inferior rank, both on the household and kainga levels. For example, a man's sister's children, referred to as 'ilamutu are all fahu (above the law) to him. The fahu can take any of the man's possessions and he is expected to make ceremonial presentations to his fahu (Kaeppler, 1971:188).

Similarily, the children can demand food or other material possessions from their other maternal kinsmen, but they must show respect toward and provide for their paternal kinsmen. All of these relationships between kinsmen, which are established by either birth or marriage, are similar for each person in the Tongan society. Every Tongan has inferior kinsmen and superior kinsmen, the relationships with whom [562] are all unilateral. Although the female is superior in rank

602 593 554 562 [612] [592] to her male siblings, in matters pertaining to leadership and inheritance, males generally take precedence. Accordingly, the head of the household is generally the oldest male and is referred to as the tangata 'eiki (chiefly man), and the highest ranking member of the larger kin group, kainga or famili, is generally the oldest male in the senior male line and is referred to as the 'ulumotu'a (the elderly head) or sometimes the ulu'ifamili (head of the family). In some cases, however, the oldest sister, because of her superior rank, will be regarded as the ulu'motu'a or ulu'ifamili.

428 In cases of inheritance, however, the right of primogeniture within the patrilineal group prevails. For example, if a man dies, his eldest son or sometimes his younger brother will inherit his title, land, and other possessions A man can inherit matrilineally only if his mother has no brothers and, in effect, inherits from his mother's father. 602 612 This system of kinship ties establishes a network of interrelationships which governs a person's social behavior within the kainga thoughout his lifetime.

602 437 Among kinsmen, these ties still provide the main basis for redistribution and exchange of products from the traditional agricultural system. On the household level, these 602 592 ties are operative on a day-to-day basis. Among the larger [612] [178] kin group, however, the kainga, the position of 'ulumotu'a is more ceremonial than it was in the past. Since the Consti-

602 612 178 [592] [554] [177] tution of 1875, the household has assumed greater importance than the kainga with respect to land tenure and economic activity. Weakening of the kainga has also been brought about by European contact and increased focus on individualism, strength of personality, resourcefulness, and education or wealth in the determination of social ranking.

602 437 Nevertheless, kinship ties provide a major impetus for the redistribution of products from the agricultural system within the kin group. The most salient exchanges are those 602 437 476 [431] which take place during ceremonial occasions, such as births, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, where different kinsmen contribute labor, food, or make presentations of fine mats, tapa, kava, and other traditional goods of high social value. Apart from ceremonial exchanges, there is also a constant flow of labor, food, and other commodities 602 437 554 throughout the kin group. Although the direction is often from lower ranking members to higher ranking members, there is also considerable flow in the opposite direction.

Social Ties

571 554 Ties which help define the role of the individual within the broader context of Tongan society include some pertaining to the traditional system of rank and status and other more contemporary ties related to the church, the government, and the village.

565 554 Tongan society is traditionally a stratified hierarchy of royalty and commoners. The royalty or high chiefs (eiki,

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of rank, but their observations add substance to the bare bones of tradition and give us tantalising glimpses of rank in action. On the second voyage for instance, Forster theorises on the origin of rank (1778: 353), while Cook tells of chiefs succeeding chiefs and of special observances between lesser and greater chiefs. Thus 'Otago' would not eat in the presence of the 'old chief', but when Cook went to deliver presents to the 'old chief' he found 'a far greater Chief no less than King of the whole Island' so great, in fact, that 'some when they approached him fell on their faces and put their heads between his feet' and 'no one durst pass him till he gave them leave' (Beaglehole 1961: 256–7). Forster writes that the 'chiefs constantly gave the presents they had received from us to the Latoo'; and, further, that 'their government has still much orientaⁱ despotism and slavish subjection to chiefs and their Latoo' (1778: 378, 379). Cook concludes that the *Latoo* was the first man on the Island under whom there were chiefs over certain districts and then a third level of chiefs, of which his friend Otago was a member. This was not a bad guess, in the light of only a few days' acquaintance with a complex system—but not the correct one. For, as we have seen, the Tu'i Tonga, descendant of the god Tangaloa, was the 'King' of all the archipelago and the divine ruler.

In order to understand the treatment of the *Latoo* we must first classify a second type of ranking in Tonga—that among kinsmen (*kāinga*). Starting with ego's own generation, the first principle of *kāinga* rank is that females have higher status than males. It is only after sex is taken into account that the second principle, elder outranking younger, comes into play. Thus, a girl of twelve years of age will have higher social status within the family than her brother of twenty years of age.

In the relationship of ego with his parental generation, another principle takes precedence. An individual's kinsmen are divided into two classes—the paternal kinsmen who rank higher than ego, and the maternal kinsmen who rank lower than ego. Thus in the parental generation, the highest kinsman is father's eldest sister, and of only slightly lesser status are other sisters of the father. Following these, father's brothers are distinguished in status according to age. Continuing with these principles, we see that the lowest in status are mother's brothers and only slightly higher are the mother's sisters.

The relationships of ego to members of the generation below him depend primarily on whether they are related through his sisters or his brothers. Sister's children are higher in status than ego, and this is reflected in the special term he uses for them (*'ilamutu*), the highest of this group being his sister's eldest daughter. These kinsmen are *fahu* (i.e., 'above the law') to ego and can take any of his possessions. Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations, such as first fruits, to his *fahu* throughout his life. Ego's brother's children, on the other hand, are classified with his own children (*'ofefine* and *foha*) and are therefore lower than ego.

Applying these principles to the Tu'i Tonga line, we see that the Tu'i Tonga himself was outranked within his *kāinga* by his sister. She was distinguished by a special title, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, i.e., the 'female Tu'i Tonga'. Of even higher rank were the Tu'i Tonga's sister's children, and especially her eldest daughter, who also had a special title, 'Tamaha'. On Cook's third voyage, Anderson tells us that *Latu* 'made no scruple of taking any thing from the people even if it belong'd to the King' (Beaglehole 1967: 954). In this framework we see that he was simply exercising his *fahu* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. Thus the Tamaha had high

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643 social and ceremonial status because of her *kāinga* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga.
644 But the Tamaha did not have highest rank and little effective power, this being
554 necessary in order to avoid power play at this high level. This delicate matter was
562 handled in a very sophisticated manner. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine was of such high rank that no Tongan was high enough to marry her, so she was married to a foreigner—a Fijian. Thus her children, because of the patrilineal emphasis of the
[611] society, belonged to a foreign line—the Fale Fisi. Rulers did not come from foreign lines so there could be no problem in mixing succession to title with *kāinga* rank.

644 'Latoo' (Latunipulu), at the time of Cook, was a son of the Tu'i Tonga's sister
554 and thus higher in *kāinga* status. Latunipulu's title was Tu'i Lakepa, which is the senior line of the Fale Fisi. He in turn was outranked by his sister, the Tamaha
[612] Moungalakepa, whom Cook also met. When the Tamaha is not present, however, one of her siblings can take her place, thus the Latoo in these early accounts was an exalted personage indeed—but not the king.

643 In order to appreciate the significance of Cook's Journals in these matters, one
174 must also understand a third dimension of Tongan rank—i.e., the ranking of
554 chiefly titles, which originated by collateral segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga line. The Tu'i Tonga, having power of life and death over their subjects, often found themselves very unpopular and several Tu'i Tonga were assassinated. In about the fifteenth century the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga appointed his younger brother as a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, who was given temporal power, while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status. The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority, reserving for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. Eventually the second line lost in status
[611] as the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu grew. All these lines descended ultimately from 'Aho'eitu and were further linked by marriage.

175 Mariwaggy (Maealiuaki) mentioned in Cook's third voyage accounts was the
643 fourteenth Tu'i Takalaua and later the eighth Tu'i Kanokupolu—the titular head
613 of Ha'a Ngata. Otago (Siale'ataongo) belonged to the Ha'a Ngata line. Feenaugh
634 (Finau Ulukalala Feletoa) of Vava'u, was of even lower rank—being a member of
554 Ha'a Ngata Tupu, which descended from the fifth Tu'i Kanokupolu. Finau was a great warrior and gave a lavish entertainment for Cook at which there was so much
[594] food that Cook remarked it 'exceeded any present I had ever before received from
[648] an Indian Prince' (Beaglehole 1967: 108). Finau's line, though he tried to make Cook believe he was king of all the Friendly Isles (1967: 100), was of a line far inferior in rank to the Tu'i Tonga. When Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, finally appears on Cook's stage, Finau put Paulaho's foot to his head and retired from the cabin, not being able to eat or drink in the Tu'i Tonga's presence. This was because Finau traced his ancestry, according to the societal segmentation, back to the Tu'i Tonga and was thereby related to him.

175 But Finau was not so related to Latunipulu and we are fortunate to have Cook's
634 description of the interaction between them. They simply ignored each other.
644 Cook tells us that Latunipulu was in a canoe under the stern of the *Resolution* and
611 Finau 'was on board at the same time but neither took any notice of the other'
591 (Beaglehole 1967: 111). Here we see that the Tamaha has no general power over

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unrelated chiefs such as Finau but derives ceremonial status by being related to the Tu'i Tonga through his sister.

As a final example of the complexities of Tonga's interlocking ranking systems let us look at an engraving made from an illustration by Hodges on Cook's second voyage of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1*a*).[5] We are at first a bit overwhelmed by the Greek-looking Tongans in flowing garments and European visage—reflecting certainly the European vision of the noble savage in his peaceful Utopia. Bernard Smith in his excellent discussion of this engraving (1960: 52–3) points out that it was probably Cipriani who did the figures in a Hodges landscape.[6] George Forster criticises the picture thus: 'But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from Nature in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficieney in this case, from his own elegant ideas' (Forster 1777: 1, 427).

These critics, however, seem to miss the ethnological importance of this picture, for here we have the first (and only) depicted example of finger sacrifice. If we look closely (plate 1*b*), we see that several of the individuals have parts of their little fingers missing—the Tongan practice of *to'o nima*.[7] In their accounts, the Forsters and Cook miss the real significance of the practice. Reinold Forster writes that the 'greater part of the same nation want the two first joints of one, and sometimes both the little fingers, which they cut off as marks of their grief, for deceased parents or relations' (1778: 269). Cook more cautiously tells us: 'we could not learn the cause of this mutilation with any degree of certainty, but judged it to be on account of the death of their parents' (Beaglehole 1961: 268). Anderson on the third voyage gets it almost correct—'for when they suspect themselves in danger from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity,' and that it 'is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves' (Beaglehole 1967: 947). From later accounts, however (e.g. Martin 1818 and Gifford 1929), it is quite clear that the practice was a sacrifice within the *kāinga* by one of lower rank to cure a sickness of one of higher rank. The lowest ranking, to follow our *kāinga* ranking principles, is the mother's brother or mother's brother's children, or someone of the same kinship category. It is said that there were often arguments over who would have the honour to give the sacrifice. This sacrifice was done within the family and taken to the priest of the sick person's god. A place name in Tungua Island in the Ha'apai group is known as Tangi to'o nima, i.e., crying at finger sacrifice, and is traditionally the place where this took place on behalf of the Tamaha.

Individuals in the group who were eligible to give finger sacrifices are also in the group who cannot eat in the presence of individuals of the higher category. This group also has specific functions at funerals—where they are known as *liongi*. Whole societal lines stand in this kind of relationship to other lines. For example, Tu'i Lakepa's line stands as 'father' to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line, and all individuals of Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line must treat those of Tu'i Lakepa's line as one would treat a 'father'. Further, the Tu'i Tonga's line must treat both Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i Ha'ateiho as one would treat a sister's child, because the Tamaha came from these lines (i.e., Fale Fisi). This situation is especially intense at the chiefly level. Cook was disappointed at the mourning ceremony he attended but his description is invaluable. His account would seem to indicate that the ceremony was not for the king's son,

A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

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as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank. Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before (Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his *kāinga*. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1c).[A] Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.[8] These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own, being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Matts of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and beding. Their Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole 1961: 266–7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces . . . or the Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:

A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]